

GREATER NEW YORK
1902 GOVERNMENT 1903

Father Knickerbocker Adrift



FUSION RECORD PUBLISHING CO., 442 PEARL ST., NEW YORK.

As Everybody Now Sees It

N. Y. Herald, Sept. 13, 1903.

A CHANGE OF NAME

*I make no personal allusion
In this brief reference to "fusion,"
But when dilating thereupon
Much parlance savors so of "con."
The dual words should be annexed;
I trust that no one will be vexed
Or suffer cerebral contusion—
The proper word should be "Confusion."*

(AVERY
DURST)

04L 11126 BOX 30

FATHER KNICKERBOCKER ADRIFT



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Every citizen of Greater New York, and every business interest in the metropolis, feels the effect of the situation described in this headline. In the first half of its experience of the "Fusion" administration the city suffered from a vacillating and nerveless policy dictated by a desire to satisfy the conflicting demands of this irresponsible collection of political elements. The helplessness of the nominal executive head was pitiful.

Mayor Low's pottering Police Commissioner, Partridge, his puerile Bridge Commissioner, Lindenthal, his penny-saving, dollar-wasting City Record Supervisor, Cowen, his patent-reversible-opinion-law-officer, Rives, his department-wrecking Fire Commissioner, Sturgis, his ineffective Water Commissioner, the quitter Dougherty, his many other administrative disappointments and failures with showings of extravagance where retrenchment and economy had been promised, his Reynolds fad faction and his own fathering of legislative follies in Albany and the Board of Aldermen made him supremely ridiculous. Everybody remembers the petty annoyances, the greater oppressions and the multitudinous mistakes of that period as well as the stubborn self-sufficiency with which Mayor Low clung to his most obvious errors.

It then seemed that no change could be anything but an improvement. The latter half of the "Fusion" administration has, unhappily, dispelled this comfortable illusion.

Casting aside his pretence of non-partisanship and yielding to his innate Republicanism, Mayor Low formed an alliance with the Odell political machine. This put him in line with the narrow, intolerant and plundering policy of the Republican legislative majority toward this city.

He has proved a helpful ally and in supporting the Bedell bill and other attacks upon the metropolis, together with the State steal of \$5,000,000 of city excise money, he makes a very able coadjutor in the predatory plans of the up-country enemies of the city.

No particular pains seem to have been taken to conceal this deal and the strong hand of Odell was soon shown in the replacing of Partridge by Greene and the latter's instant activity in the work of Republicanizing the Police Department and in the enforcement of the blue laws which commend the Republican State Machine to the rural voters. The Mayor's most loyal admirers admit that unless Partridge's resignation and the Greene appointment had been arranged for him by the powers in the Republican party, he would still be waiting complacently for his first choice as Police Commissioner to do something.

This would be quite as creditable to him, however, as his present pretence of expecting reforms for the benefit of the city at the hands of the party of the post office frauds, of the Littauer glove, the Indian Commission, the land office and countless other scandals.

Father Knickerbocker needs to keep a sharper lookout than ever. His rickety "Fusion" raft is in more danger than that of helpless drifting. There are political pirates about whose purpose is to capture him and to deliver him into the hands of his enemies.

Note.—The dictionary definition of "fusion" is: "In politics, the coalition of two parties or factions." (The lexicographer evidently does

not conceive the possibility of the coalition of more than two parties.)

Coalition we find to mean, "Union in a body or mass."

Even Mayor Low will hardly claim that this "Fusion" administration was ever a united body or mass. Then it must take the character of the boasted 85 per cent. share which the Republicans claim to have had in its make-up.

There is no dictionary definition of "non-partisan." (See the Century Dictionary.)

There is no lack of descriptions of this imaginary state, however. One of the best is the work of a well-known writer on political subjects, as follows:

"Only dead people are non-partisans. The nearest that a person can approach to becoming a non-partisan and live, is to become either a fool or a lunatic. It is impossible for a sane person, after understanding any question, not to take some side of such question; and when this is done, such person becomes a partisan."

PROTECT YOUR HOME.

New York City Is the Object of the Predatory Plans of the
Republican Legislative Majority—Taxed on Property,
Business, Refreshments, and Even in Death,
for the Benefit of Up-State Land Owners.

Low's Political Partner, Odell, the Arch-Schemer against the People of the Metropolis.

Governor Odell, in his great anxiety to abolish the direct State tax for the benefit of his rural friends, has attempted many expedients in taxation which have astounded all well-informed persons who have studied tax matters. Some of these expedients were so bare-faced in their injustice to some localities or interests that the Governor had to abandon them. An instance of this was the case of the mortgage tax, a most palpable outrage in the direction of double taxation of real estate. Mortgaged property, of course, pays the taxes assessed upon it. If, in addition, the mortgage itself is to be taxed the individual who lends money on its security will not long be the person mulcted. The poor real estate owner will soon find that he will have to pay the increase in the rate of interest on the mortgage.

Other equally glaring cases of double taxation have, however, been successfully carried through to enactment into law by the Republican majority in Albany.

Of course, this taxation has always been arranged so that the part of it that falls upon the property and business interests in New York City will be the heavier, while the rural districts will derive the greater benefit.

The tax on the franchises of real estate corporations here is a grievous burden. The real estate which represents the assets of the corporation is fully assessed and taxed locally. To put a burden of franchise taxation upon the corporation which stands in the place of an individual owner and pays an equal rate of taxation with such individual owner, is a piece of glaring injustice.

In the extra taxation of some parts of the savings bank funds, the State takes more money out of the city than comes back to us in our proportion of the State's division to localities.

The New Yorker who dies leaving property on which an inheritance tax is levied makes a posthumous payment to the exactions of up-State greed. The collateral inheritance tax collected here goes more to the benefit of the strangers afar and afield than to that of the community of the friends and neighbors of the decedent.

Even in the city's share toward the levy of what remains of the direct State tax, injustice and inequality are the result of the Republican policy. The New York taxpayer is here hard hit again.

By the action of the State Board of Equalization, so called, he is saddled with an over-proportion of this direct State tax, because of the low valuations for tax purposes put upon the farms of the State. To-day this injustice has been magnified under the "Fusion" plan of full valuations in the appraisalment for purposes of taxation. This increase in the valuations of city property, which, of course, means no corresponding increase in selling or holding value, will serve to allow the State Board of Equalization to enormously increase the disproportion that the city has hitherto suffered from.

STATE STEAL OF EXCISE MONEY.

The most aggravated instance of discrimination against the city, however, is found in the State excise or liquor tax.

It is when he takes a drink that Father Knickerbocker gets it the worst from the State government that favors its farmer friends. Whether the New Yorker drinks much or little, seldom or often, whether he takes wine, beer or whiskey, he pays heavily in this indulgence toward relieving the tax burdens of the inhabitants of the rest of the State. Last Winter Governor Odell and his State machine, with the assistance of Mayor Low and his other "Fusion" allies here, amended the Raines Law so as to squeeze a few more millions from the people in this city. The hotels, restaurants and saloons in New York which were formerly taxed, under the Raines Liquor Law, \$800 a year were made to pay \$1,200 instead. Before this law was amended, the liquor tax license fees paid in New York City amounted to nearly \$8,000,000. The proportion received back by the city from the State officials who collected it was, on the basis of the two-thirds division, five and one-third millions of dollars, leaving two and two-third millions for the State to distribute for the benefit of the residents of other localities. The amendment reduced the city's proportion in the division from two-thirds to one-half. Under the provisions of the amendment increasing this tax from \$800 to \$1,200 a year, the proceeds of the tax collected by the State did not proportionately increase. Some of the small dealers, especially those whose liquor and beer business was merely an accommodation to customers frequenting their restaurants and small table d'hôte places, were driven out of business. When the amount of the increase was known and the difference in the percentage of the division calculated,

It was found that while New York City received only a few hundred thousand dollars out of the additional amount collected, the share that went to the State was increased by about five millions of dollars.

This excise money returned to the city from the State is used to make up for the payment of the pensions of the policemen, the firemen and the school teachers whatever may be lacking in the amount raised for that purpose in other directions. When anything is left of the excise money after that, it is used for the charities. It will be seen that this fund should be as carefully guarded as any other part of the income of the city. Any deficiency in it for the purposes mentioned will have to be made up from the proceeds of direct taxation. Every cent taken from it, therefore, is liable to cause the necessity to resort to some other source for means to use in those directions, and the final resort is always direct local taxation, the burden of which falls mainly on the real estate owner, and through him on the rent payer. No clearer duty could devolve upon Mayor Low than that of conserving the city's interest in this excise money collection, and we find that he was not only indifferent to this duty, but actually in league with the predatory Odell in his scheme to filch from that fund for the benefit of the rural taxpayer.

There is no occasion, in this connection, to discuss the merits of the question of this increase as it relates to the liquor traffic. It can safely be said, however, that there must be two sides to the question. It would be hard for the advocates of either side of the question to excuse or



TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.

pillate Mayor Low's conduct in treating as he did the delegation of representatives of the liquor traffic who called upon him in relation to the matter. They certainly complained very bitterly of it, and there seemed to be a general drift of public opinion in their favor.

The Mayor's act, however, gave strong moral support to the promoters of the bill, which was practically a State steal of millions of dollars of city money.

The Mayor's support was even more active in Albany. The bill was a general State measure, and the Mayor had no power to veto or approve it, as in the case of a city bill, but he did have undeniable influence with the boss of the law-makers, the Governor, who has abolished the lobby by taking the commercial control of legislation into the executive chamber. He could have made effective opposition to the passage of the provision reducing the city's proportion of the excise money from two-thirds to one-half. The Mayor also had a log-rolling connection with the law-making mill, on account of his interest in various bills for Fusion political purposes, but instead of throwing the weight which this gave him against Odell's scheme, he really acted in favor of it.

NEW YORK CITY PAYS TAXES.

COUNTRY COUNTIES RECEIVE DIVIDENDS.

A very interesting letter treating upon the subject of this unjust discrimination between the State and the city in matters of taxation is given below, and is well worthy of receiving careful attention from New York property owners and rent payers:

"New York, Sept. 3, 1903.

"To the Manhattan Municipal League.

"Gentlemen.—I am much gratified to see that you have organized for the worthy purposes stated in your resolution defining the objects of your association, and particularly to arouse opposition to the subsidizing of some counties at the cost of the cities of this State. I am satisfied that an awakening of the citizens to the gross injustice established and perpetuated by the dominant party and faction in power in the State and city will eventually correct the evil existing and restore a condition of equality based upon exact justice.

"When taxes are not levied in good faith, as a means of raising necessary revenue to defray public charges, and are not equal and reasonable, but designed as a forced contribution from one class for the benefit of another, we have class legislation of the most pronounced and vicious type; in a word, confiscation, not taxation.

"An effort to introduce a new theory in taxation, adverse to the general principle, that taxation must be only for general public revenue purposes of the State, and not to regulate, affect or destroy any special business or property, would seem to have some sanction in the legislation lately enacted.

"If universal suffrage shall be guilty of forming tax laws, whether imposing direct or indirect taxation, in such manner as to exempt any class from bearing a proportionate and just share of the public burdens, and distribute and impose those burdens, either wholly or disproportionately upon others, the result of such injustice will react upon the whole community.

"We have lately been drifting away from old safeguards in taxation to such an extent that even those high in authority assert that the section of the State possessed of the greatest wealth should bear an unequal and unjust proportion of State taxes for the purpose of maintaining special State expenditures.

"Such doctrine would lead in time to revolution, and the very principle thus enunciated has almost grown into a statute by the persistent action of the State Board of Tax Commissioners.

"Taxes have been aptly defined to be largely, if not wholly, sacrifices for the public good, equality of sacrifice being the rule directed by justice. Equality, indeed, is inherent in the very idea of a tax, as distinguished from arbitrary exactions and in many of the States is enjoined by constitutional power.

"So long as the purpose is a public one the legislative power is unlimited, both as to the extent of taxation and as to the manner, whether upon all the property of a locality or upon such

only as is benefited, but even if limited the evil in our case consists, not alone of enforcing laws unequal in themselves, but also by the general distribution to localities of taxes raised for purposes specifically local, with the pretext that such local purpose is for the general welfare of the State.

"The principle violated is that the State is required to raise taxes for other than purely revenue purposes. The impropriety of the State injecting itself into local taxation affairs cannot be too strongly condemned.

"It has been truly said that the true spirit of American government consists of a decentralized system, where each local constituency chooses its own officers, each road district, school district, village, town, city and county administers its own affairs, by the people, for the people.

"From a system based upon the mere opinion of real estate value, as a means of relief from the gross inequality prevailing, this city has favored separating its system from the equalization of the property of the counties and the adoption of a system by which the State should obtain its requisite revenue by the taxation of capital. Such a system of actual cash value would undoubtedly insure a greater equality. The disposition of the State to appropriate the whole of such taxes has, as we now see, initiated a system in total disregard of the rights of some of the counties, perhaps as wrongfully, if not more so, than under the old system.

"Having reviewed the fundamental objection to prevailing conditions, let us revert to the fact that in a large number of counties there has been no actual State tax whatever. In those counties hereafter specified it is not a question of what they pay for the support of the State, but what the State pays for the support of them, and it is certainly true that the greater the assessed valuation of New York and the other populous counties, the greater the dividends which the rural counties get from the State; with them it is a matter not of tax rate, but of dividend rate.

"In support of my argument I find for the year 1901 that thirty-six counties are in the dividend column. A few of the counties and the amounts of their dividends are:

Cattaraugus	\$25,398.69	Jefferson	\$21,556.43
Chautauqua	25,395.95	Oswego	19,812.16
Clinton	29,213.64	St. Lawrence	31,863.18
Delaware	28,200.13	Steuben	24,247.70

The others of the thirty-six counties in which similar conditions exist are Allegany, Broome, Cayuga, Chenango, Cortland, Essex, Franklin, Greene, Hamilton, Herkimer, Lewis, Madison, Oneida, Ontario, Orleans, Otsego, Saratoga, Schoharie, Schuyler, Sullivan, Tioga, Tompkins, Ulster, Warren, Washington, Wayne, Wyoming and Yates.

"Gentlemen, this subsidizing of counties has been the policy of the Republican party for many years past, and it has been successfully carried out in the distribution of the revenue raised by taxation, in many instances, but especially in the distribution of the school funds. The lately adopted "money system" in place of the "labor system" for the improvement of the highways is another response to the demands of these counties for larger dividends. The State has appropriated and authorized about \$400,000 to be expended for this purpose in 1902. It will increase to over \$600,000 this year, the demand being for \$1,500,000.

"These facts may explain why the Governor and the last Legislature have been so anxious to raise revenue by new taxation methods in amounts more than sufficient for the ordinary expenditures of the State government.

"Permit me to surmise the argument of the Governor in the Republican caucus held on the excise and mortgage tax question, in which this item is presented to the county representatives, and then please understand the unanimity of the legislators to vote for such measures, especially as the State money thus appropriated is to be expended by the town boards, with but slight supervision over them.

"We cannot be free from alarm when even the State Comptroller, in his report for 1903, warns us that 'the large and constantly increasing contributions this statute will require of the State, naturally suggests

the query whether there should be some State supervision relative to this expenditure.'

"It can be safely stated that the counties comprising Greater New York, with Albany, Erie, Monroe and Onondaga, are now paying about ninety per cent of the State taxes, the cities of New York and Buffalo about eighty per cent of the whole.

"Is this anything less than wholesale bribery, under the form of law, of the electorate of this State? And is it not just this policy that is continually antagonizing the other counties against the cities?

"The policy that uses the law as a system to relieve one part of the State (and this applies equally to the city) to the detriment and at the expense of the other must be condemned in unmeasured terms if we intend to maintain equal rights.

The Governor in his address to the people of the Dutchess County Fair, on the second instant, to sustain his tax measures, made the claim that a saving of \$6,000,000 to this city has been effected. If he means thereby that this city is now paying \$6,000,000 less both by way of direct and indirect taxes than theretofore, his statement is and must be untrue. If our percentage of total taxes was under the direct system 67 per cent, it is now and will be 80 per cent, under the present condition. In addition, by mandatory legislation, including the act of consolidation or charter of this city, the territory which comprised the old City of New York has paid since 1898 more than \$50,000,000 a year, under laws which were passed in opposition to the unanimous vote of the Democratic representatives of that territory. It should not be forgotten that Mayor Low and his Republican reform associates in the Charter Revision Commission appointed by a Republican Governor and the Legislature, were the immediate and direct cause of this extraordinary expenditure.

Yours respectfully,

THOMAS L. FEITNER."

(From the Sun.)

AMEN.

To the Editor of the Sun—Sir: James B. Reynolds, secretary to Mayor Low, in addressing the Citizens' Union of Brooklyn on the evening of the 7th inst., let fall this gem of thought:

"The administration has done as well as it could."

Amen! And so say we all!

CHOPPER.

New York, February 9.

BOSS CUTTING EXPOSED.

Pretending to Non-Partisanship When His Business Interests Are Bound Up in Republican Success.

The most colossal humbug in the "Fusion" campaign and at the same time the one which is most obvious and transparent is the non-partisanship pretense of Boss R. Fulton Cutting. He is the head and front of the "Fusion" movement and is the most extravagant in his protestations of the utter absence of partisanship in his interest in the candidacy of Mayor Low. This interest is not merely a matter of the campaign season. It was shown and has distinguished him all Summer. He was almost as early in the field with the announcement that Low must be the candidate as Governor Odell himself.

The exact flavor of his non-partisanship and the full degree of his sincerity in these protestations will be appreciated when it is recalled that he is a large stockholder and heavily interested in the American Beet Root Sugar Company.

His brother, W. Bayard Cutting, also an enthusiastic "Fusionist" and professor of non-partisanship, is the chairman of the Board of Directors of that colossal trust.

BEET SUGAR NEEDS PROTECTION.

The record of the last Congress proves that it is vital to Cutting's Beet Root Sugar Company to secure the re-election of Roosevelt and a Republican Congress next year. In view of this fact the character of his protestations of non-partisanship is plain. They were clearly hypocritical shams.

The pecuniary interests of the American Beet Root Sugar Company require the election of a Mayor in New York City who will pave the way for Republican success next year in the national campaign.

That Low is the candidate relied upon to do this is evident from the nature of the methods employed to bring about his nomination. Despite the attitude of the Independent Democrats, and despite the foundation sentiment against it in the great body of the membership of the Citizens' Union, the renomination of Low was insisted on by the Republican machine and by Boss Cutting, its ally in political and business interests.

Cutting's Beet Root Sugar Company maintains in Washington a powerful lobby. Its agent, Oxnard, and his operations, were notorious during the last session. This lobby went to the length of opposing vigorously the reciprocity treaty with Cuba, and it was to the obstructive tactics of the opposition to this treaty that the necessity for the extra session of this Fall can be attributed.

In this connection it might not be out of place to note that the opposition to the Beet Sugar Legislative conspiracy was vigorously led on the floor of Congress by Representative George B. McClellan

The creditable and effective manner in which he conducted the opposition, as a Democrat, might perhaps be urged by some confiding "Fusionists" as additional testimony to the good faith of Mr. Cutting's protestations to non-partisanship in this Mayoralty campaign.

The interest of the American Beet Root Sugar Company in national legislation is right along the lines of the Republican policy of protecting favored industries. The sugar differential is a matter of the most vital importance to the beet root sugar men. At the annual meeting of the stockholders of the Trust in Jersey City last April, Chairman Cutting, in his annual report, roamed over the face of the globe in the consideration of every topic affecting to the fraction of a mill the cost of producing a pound of sugar. He had considerable to say about the abolition of the sugar bounties recently adopted by the Brussels Conference and touched very interestingly upon the report that there

THE BEET ROOT SUGAR BOSS.

No primaries, no district conventions, no petitions or any such machinery is required by Boss Cutting to assist him in nominating a ticket to the voters of New York. He calls together a gathering of the faithful, calls it a city convention and tells it what to do.

In fact, he tells everybody what to do, and sometimes it is done as he says. He is telling the people now that they must elect Low, but they will not do it.

The Cutting pretense of non-partisanship has been exposed. His beet-sugar interests require the election of a Republican President and a Republican Congress next year, and he thinks that it will help in that direction to elect a Republican Mayor this Fall.

The people think so, too, and that's what's the matter with Low.



THE BIGGEST BOSS.

would be a reduction of best acreage planted in Europe which would make a difference of 12½ per cent in this year's crop, or about 800,000 tons, but he did not enlighten the directors, and through them the public upon the legislative campaign or the attitude of the company in the matter of the sugar differential. While he made a comforting statement that he believed that his trust would make the refined product more cheaply than any other beet sugar factories in the United States and, therefore, below the cost of granulated sugar made from the imported raws, his company will be just as much interested in the coming session of Congress in seeing that the duty on imported raws is not reduced. That would interfere with the profits of the American Beet Root Sugar Company.

THE WISE HAYSEED AND THE FOOLISH CITIZENS.

In a great city there once lived a class of people who were lovers of Personal Liberty—who had suffered much because they had the courage of their convictions. Although they had not the full measure of the social freedom which they desired, they did not grumble. What they suffered was due to the narrow mindedness and bigotry of some country neighbors who followed the pursuits of agriculture and husbandry, and sold their produce to the lovers of Personal Liberty. Yet did this sect, who were peculiar, and who wore greased boots, weather-beaten hats and ancient garb, and who never shaved or cut their hair, and were irreverently called Hayseeds, assume to make laws for the Personal Liberty class; and, indeed, for everybody over whom they could rule. Now, it came to pass that there were many things in the great city which the Hayseeds coveted—including piers for their barges and other privileges which belonged to the lovers of Personal Liberty. And a candidate for big chief devised a scheme by which he could cunningly ensnare these good things for his people. He approached the lovers of Personal Liberty with honeyed words and, declaring that he was their friend, promised them the greater measure of Personal Liberty which they longed for; because they hated hypocrisy and deceit. Hitherto they had been more or less contented, and minded their own business but now they gave ear to a humbug neighbor known as Smooth Seth, who induced them to believe that he could prevail upon the Hayseeds to make more liberal laws. They delegated Smooth Seth to represent them. Having done this they went on their way rejoicing, saying that they would no more be persecuted, and would indeed be really free to follow their own custom of living. And they paused for results. But after the Hayseeds had taken piers for their barges, and enacted laws favorable to themselves alone, they spoke no more to the lovers of Personal Liberty, but closed the doors of their houses to them. Indeed, they began to further oppress the lovers of Personal Liberty. Laws were made to compel the people in the great city to pay nearly all the taxes of the class called Hayseeds; and many lovers of Personal Liberty were ruined and lost even the little which they had. When they protested the Hayseeds only laughed at them, and replied: "Oh what a simple people; you sing, 'Back to the woods' to us; but it is you who should retire to the tall timbers. We Hayseeds have always been guileless innocents, seeking only to do you people and do you good." And no more privileges did the lovers of Personal Liberty get. "Verily we have been hornswoggled," said they; "but the shame is not for us, but for the cheap Humbug who cunningly appealed to our love of Personal Liberty. He who deceives us once, shame on him; but it is no shame for us until we have been defrauded a second time. It is written that he who laughs last laughs best.

Democracy is the hope of the people and the only agency of real reform.

FUSION DISPROVES ITS OWN CHARGES

*Campaign Slander Refuted by the Record of "Fusion" Financiering.
Charges of Democratic Extravagance and Corruption Refuted by
"Fusion's" Appropriations Under Professions of Every
Economy—They Lied Then or They Are Extravagant
and Corrupt Now—Compiled from the Records
and Minutes of the Board of Estimate and Ap-
portionment and Board of Aldermen and
from the Comptroller's Reports.*

COMPARISON OF BUDGETS FOR 1901, 1902, 1903. THE YEAR 1901
BEING THE LAST YEAR OF MAYOR VAN WYCK'S AND
THE LATTER THE LAST YEAR OF MAYOR
LOW'S ADMINISTRATION.

	1901.	1902.	1903.	Increase 1903 over 1901.
Appropriated for De- partments, Bureaus, Courts, Charitable Institutions and all City and County pur- poses	\$91,141,376.31	\$94,104,091.59	\$96,568,873.82	\$5,427,497.51
For State Taxes.....	6,959,037.12	4,515,509.29	550,157.28	

Total Budgets..... \$98,100,413.43 \$98,619,600.88 \$97,119,031.10

By reference to the table it will be seen that the following amounts
were included yearly in each budget for State taxes, viz:

State taxes for 1901.....	\$6,959,037.12
State taxes for 1902.....	4,515,509.29
State taxes for 1903.....	550,157.28

so that there was included in the budget of 1901, the last year of the
Van Wyck administration, \$6,408,879.84 more State taxes than in 1903,
the last year of Mayor Low's administration, making the total budget
each year as follows, viz:

Year 1901.....	\$98,100,413.43
Year 1902.....	98,619,600.88
Year 1903.....	97,119,031.10

In other words if the same amount appropriated for State taxes in
1901, the last year of Mayor Van Wyck's term, amounting to \$6,959,037.12,
be included in each of the budgets for 1902 and 1903, made by Mayor
Low, the budgets would show as follows, viz:

Year 1901, Mayor Van Wyck's last year.....	\$98,100,413.43
Year 1902, Mayor Low's budget.....	101,063,128.71
Year 1903, Mayor Low's last budget.....	103,527,910.94

So that there was actually appropriated to run the city
government in 1903, the last year of Mayor Low's term of
office, \$5,427,497.51 more than was appropriated for 1901,
the last year of Mayor Van Wyck's term of office.

Although the Fusion candidates in the Mayoralty campaign of 1901
claimed that of the ninety-eight millions appropriated for the last year of
Mayor Van Wyck's term, there was over twenty million dollars stolen,

by padded pay rolls, dead men's names on same and otherwise, yet for the last year of Mayor Low's administration the budget for all city and county purposes is over five and one-half million dollars greater than the budget for the same purposes during the last year of Mayor Van Wyck's term.

It follows that this contention of the Fusion candidates in 1901 was absolutely false or else that under Mayor Low's administration there is over twenty-five million dollars stolen.

COMPARISON.

Comparing the amounts appropriated for salaries, services and labor of every description, in 1903, by the Republican Low administration, with the year 1901, the last year of the Democratic Van Wyck administration.

TAKEN FROM THE DEPARTMENTAL ESTIMATES.

Under the REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION OF 1903,

there was appropriated for salaries, services and labor of every description, not less than.....

\$49,299,271.97

Under the DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION OF 1901,

there was paid for salaries, services and labor of every description

\$45,656,008.77

An increase for the benefit of Republican office holders of... 3,643,263.20

COMPARATIVE TABLE.—STOCKS AND BONDS "AUTHORIZED"

BY THE REPUBLICAN LOW ADMINISTRATION AND COMPARED WITH THE DEMOCRATIC VAN WYCK ADMINISTRATION COMPILED FROM THE MINUTES OF THE BOARD OF ESTIMATE AND OF THE BOARD OF ALDERMEN.

AVERAGE STOCK AND BONDS AUTHORIZED PER YEAR:

Republican Low administration, 1902 and 1903.....\$60,000,000.00
Democratic Van Wyck administration, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901... 26,000,000.00

Average increase Republican Low administration.....\$34,000,000.00
or 133 per cent.

COMPARATIVE TABLE.—STOCKS AND BONDS "ISSUED" UNDER DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATIONS AS COMPARED WITH REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATIONS.

Comparing the last three Democratic administrations with the last two Republican administrations.

AVERAGE STOCKS AND BONDS ISSUED PER YEAR. CITY OF NEW YORK AS NOW CONSTITUTED:

Low Republican administration, 1902, 1903.....\$34,600,000.00
Van Wyck Democratic administration, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901... 29,300,000.00

Increase per year under Republican administration..... \$5,300,000.00
or 18 per cent.

OLD CITY OF NEW YORK.

Strong Republican administration, 1895, 1896, 1897.....\$23,457,000.00
Gilroy Democratic administration, 1893, 1894..... 11,819,000.00

Increase per year under Republican administration.....\$11,638,000.00
or an increase of nearly 100 per cent.

Strong Republican Administration, 1895, 1896, 1897.....\$23,457,000.00
Grant Democratic administration, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892... 10,971,000.00

Increase per year under Republican administration.....\$12,485,000.00
or 114 per cent.

CAMPAIGN SLANDERS REFUTED.

It will be seen by the tables given above that the campaign slanders to the effect that the administration in the first four years of the history of Greater New York was extravagant and corrupt were baseless, outrageous and unjustifiable. In fact, it will be remembered that no effort was made at the time to show any foundation for the reckless assertions; but it was merely urged that the amount of the annual appro-

priations, then \$98,000,000, was prima facie evidence that the management of the municipal affairs was extravagant and that the city was being robbed.

The record made by the administration which stole into office on that false cry has utterly dissipated and refuted this charge, which it now seems could never have been made in good faith. In every year since there has been an increase in the appropriations for actual city purposes and the amounts asked for for the coming year show proportionately even a larger increase.

"FUSION" TAX RATE, A FAKE.

The Fusion administration's claim that their tax rate of 1.41 for this year represents a sweeping reduction in the taxes that the people will have to pay is another piece of false pretense. This rate was reached by a series of juggling tricks with the finances of the city. In the first place the so-called full valuation appraisalment for the purposes of taxation increased the valuation of the real estate in the city by \$14,000,000,000. That, in itself, would make a difference of about one-third of the previous rate; but this, it is very plainly seen, would not mean a reduction of taxation when the amount to be expended is not reduced; and there is no reduction, as is already shown, in the amount to be expended. This increased valuation has been supplemented by a system of encouraging the departments to allow deficiencies to accrue in various directions, which deficiencies will have to be made up in next year's budget.

A further development of this scheme to make an apparently low tax rate for this campaign year is found in the attack made upon the sinking fund. In utter defiance of any principle of law or morals a raid has been made upon these savings of the city, pledged as they are to the redemption of the bonds of the city. This item alone takes \$8,500,000 out of the budget and out of the amount to be raised by direct taxation this year, though this is done at the expense of the city's obligations in other directions. One other quarter has been invaded to make this apparent reduction in the tax rate possible, and that is an unexampled depletion of the general fund, which will have the result of making it impossible for the city officials next year to get any help from that source whatever.

All of this means that a forced tax rate too small for the real requirements of the "Fusion" administration's officials has been made for campaign purposes, with the result that next year's rate must necessarily be greatly increased. This increase, together with the requirements for interest on the bonds to be issued under the stimulus to extravagance of raising the city's debt limit by \$140,000,000, will necessarily make a difference of more than 20 points in the next year's tax rate.

CHOPPER ADMIRES "REFORM."

(From the Sun.)

REFORM.

To the Editor of the Sun—Sir: Let me get on the record a bit of Reform economy that has escaped the vigilance of the Comptroller's press bureau.

A few days since a tyro in Reform and a lion in gravity was seen dashing in and out of the offices of the Finance Department and peering into the water coolers. He then returned to the main office and began to fume and rave! And what do you suppose it was all about? He found that the ice bill for January equalled that of September. The ice supply has been cut one-third, with a saving of 30 cents a day to the city.

If the Mayor's secretary is to enlighten us on the latent "beauties" of Reform, let him match this, if he can.

February 10.

CHOPPER.

Democracy is the hope of the people and the only agency of real reform.

Half Time Classes

..... FOR

87,557 Pupils

(Official Figures, Sept. 25, 1903.)

The most sacred promises of the "Fusion" campaign of 1901 were that seats would be provided in full time classes for all the children of New York.

The "Fusion" literature of this campaign of 1903 falsely claims this promise has been kept.

The neglect of School provision and the consequent crowding out of pupils has increased steadily under "Fusion" until the appalling result has been reached that the above figures show.



THE PEOPLE DO NOT FORGET.

"FUSION" AND THE SCHOOLS.

A Record of Neglect and Extravagance, with Attacks on the Ground Work and Foundation of the System—The Truth Against Citizens' Union False Claims.

"The total number of New York children reduced to 'half time' in the public schools this year is 87,557."—Statement officially made, Sept. 26, 1903.

The "Fusion" administration has made a great impression upon the public school system, but its "progress" has been in a direction away from the second, substantial standards of the past.

The Low-Maxwell-Columbia College administration of school affairs has distinguished itself by adding two whole years to the age of the pupils graduated from the regular common school course. This adds thousands to the number of children of the poor and middle classes who will be unable to complete the course.

The Low-Maxwell-Columbia College administration of the school affairs has incessantly attacked the New York Normal College, the only avenue through which the children of the people of this city can be fitted for positions as school teachers.

The Low-Maxwell-Columbia College administration of school affairs has also failed utterly to keep the promises of the Fusion campaign to provide seating capacity for all the children of school age in the city, despite the fact that by increasing the age of beginners from five years to six years they have thus eliminated from their statistics thousands of children formerly reckoned as of school age.

The Low-Maxwell-Columbia College administration of school affairs is responsible for the disgraceful record, never before approached, of being unable to furnish all the children, even in the third grade, with seats in full time classes.

In spite of this failure, on Monday, September 14, the very day when thousands of children were forced to return home and report that they were unable to secure seats in the schools, the publicity department of the Citizens' Union circulated the false claim that all children had been provided for. With this claim misleading details were given as to the expenditures of the Fusion administration for school purposes as compared with those of the previous Democratic administration. In this statement the Fusion officers were given credit for spending several millions of dollars, the provision for which was really due to the forethought and public spirit of the previous Democratic administration.

DEMOCRATIC LIBERALITY TO SCHOOLS.

The comparison between the two administrations, if made in good faith, should show the action of each in the matter of initiating appropriations and proceedings for school sites, school buildings and school additions. Measured by this logical and accurate standard, the records of the Board of Estimate and Board of Education prove that the Democratic administration was three times as careful of its duty to the people in providing educational facilities.

The Democratic administration, confronted with the task of organizing the consolidated city, was unable in the first year to disentangle the complex financial problems presented by the confusion of bond issues in the various boroughs. The constitutional debt limit made it necessary to hold up all bond issues until the financial situation was fully cleared up. By surmounting difficulties, the gravity of which outsiders can hardly conceive, the city's financial machinery was put in good working order in the early part of 1899. Attention was then promptly given to the

important educational question, and the following is the record of the provision for additional school accommodations made by the Democratic administration in office from 1898 to 1902:

MANHATTAN AND THE BRONX.

Date.	Sites.	Buildings.	Additions.
March 7, 1899.....		3	
March 17, 1899.....		2	
March 30, 1899.....		3	
April 21, 1899.....		1	1
May 3, 1899.....	9		
June 8, 1899.....	2		
June 13, 1899.....			1
July 31, 1899.....			1
November 29, 1899.....	1	2	
February 1, 1900.....	1		
August 21, 1900.....		2	
October 5, 1900.....	1		
October 12, 1900.....		1	
November 21, 1900.....			1
December 11, 1900.....	2		
January 18, 1901.....			1
March 8, 1901.....	1		
April 10, 1901.....	4	1	
June 13, 1901.....			1
June 20, 1901.....	3		
July 17, 1901.....	2		1
July 13, 1901.....	2		
October 1, 1901.....	3		
November 20, 1901.....	1		
December 19, 1901.....	1		

BROOKLYN.

Date.	Sites.	Buildings.	Additions.
April 2, 1899.....			2
May 17, 1899.....		1	1
June 29, 1899.....			2
July 31, 1899.....		2	
November 29, 1899.....	1		
December 28, 1899.....		2	
February 1, 1900.....		1	
March 6, 1900.....		1	
April 20, 1900.....		1	
June 6, 1900.....		1	
June 27, 1900.....		1	
August 21, 1900.....		2	
October 12, 1900.....	1		
December 11, 1900.....		1	
January 18, 1901.....		1	
February 7, 1901.....	1		
March 8, 1901.....	6		
March 14, 1901.....	4		
April 10, 1901.....	2		
July 17, 1901.....		2	
October 15, 1901.....	4		
November 20, 1901.....	1		
December 19, 1901.....	2		

QUEENS.

Date.	Sites.	Buildings.	Additions.
March 7, 1899.....			Appropriations to complete erection of three schools.
July 31, 1899.....		2	
September 7, 1899.....			1
October 5, 1899.....	1		
December 28, 1899.....		1	
January 16, 1900.....		1	
January 16, 1900.....			A special sites

February 1, 1900.....	1	appropriation of \$92,690.
March 6, 1900.....	1	
July 24, 1900.....		Appropriations to complete three school buildings.
October 12, 1900.....	4	
December 27, 1900.....		Appropriations to complete one school.
July 31, 1901.....	3	
November 14, 1901.....		Large school addition.

Date.	RICHMOND. Sites. Buildings. Additions.		
July 13, 1899.....			2
October 30, 1899.....	2		
December 28, 1899.....		1	1
January 16, 1900.....	1		
March 6, 1900.....	1		
October 12, 1900.....			Additional appropriation for one site.
July 13, 1901.....		1	
October 30, 1901.....	1		

TOTALS DURING THE DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION.

Manhattan and Bronx.

School Sites.....	33
School Buildings.....	13
School Additions.....	7

Brooklyn.

School Sites.....	22
School Buildings.....	16
School Additions.....	5

Queens.

School Sites.....	9
School Buildings.....	3
Additions and Completions.....	11

Besides a special sites appropriation of \$92,690 for Queens on January 10, 1900.

Richmond.

School Sites.....	5
School Buildings.....	2
School Additions.....	3
GRAND TOTAL FOR DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION:	
School Sites.....	69
School Buildings.....	34
School Additions.....	26

"FUSION'S" NEGLECT SCHOOL INCREASE.

The "Fusion" administration found the city government in running order, the debt limit at a comfortable distance removed, and it has since added \$140,000,000 to the city's borrowing capacity. By its new system of accounts no separate statement of school appropriations by Boroughs is available; but its whole record for the greater city is as follows:

GREATER NEW YORK.

Date.	Sites.	Buildings.	Additions.
January 21, 1902.....	1	1	
February 14, 1902.....	1		
June 6, 1902.....	2		
June 29, 1902.....		2	

July 1, 1902.....	1	
August 21, 1902.....		1
September 5, 1902.....	1	
September 26, 1902.....	3	
October 23, 1902.....	1	
November 28, 1902.....	1	
January 9, 1903.....	3	
	(Entered as "general construction.")	

February 13, 1903..... 2

TOTAL FOR ALL THE BOROUGHES.

School Sites.....	11
School Buildings.....	7
School Additions.....	1

The comparison which suggests itself is to consider each of these operations as a unit and take the aggregates. The Democratic administration's record is of 129 operations for the extension of school facilities. The Fusion administration record is 19. The periods in which a fair comparison can be made are respectively 34 months and 20 months, as the records are only available up to September 1. Comparatively stated then the record proves that in about four-sevenths of the time the Fusion administration made less than one-sixth of the same amount of provision. To emphasize the comparison it may be noted that the Fusion administration has done little more in the way of originating public school improvements for the whole of Greater New York than the preceding Democratic administration did for Queens Borough alone. Much work originated, as shown, under the Democratic administration was completed under the present administration, and this explains the avidity with which the Citizens' Union statisticians call attention to the amount of expenditures made by the incumbent officials.

CROWDING OUT ELEMENTARY SCHOOL WORK.

The greatest injury done to the school system of this city by the "Fusion" administration arises from the fundamental difference between that administration and others. Mayor Low's appointees in administrative positions do not represent the people and are not in accord with popular sentiment. They are distinctively representative of the classes and are aristocrats. In the educational matters this has resulted so that our schools have been treated entirely from the Columbia College standpoint. The whole effort has been in the direction of special work and higher grade courses suitable for the few who desire to fit themselves for college.

The needs of the vast majority who never go beyond the grammar school course have been neglected. Worse than this, the facilities for younger children, the majority of whom will enjoy few school years, are most inadequate. Beginning by shutting them out an additional year this administration has allowed the number of children that can only get into half time classes to increase enormously.

In September, 1902, the number was 78,000. The natural increase is 26,000 a year. The provision to increase accommodations planned for the year was only 16,000; but delays occurred to prevent these plans from being carried out. To a slight extent the building strike made delays inevitable, and that excuse has been seized upon by the Fusion officials to explain the fact that about 90,000 pupils have to be content with half time class accommodations.

The responsibility for this failure to carry out Fusion campaign promises rests with the Fusion Mayor and his cabinet officers in the Board of Estimate.

It is vociferously claimed by the Citizens' Union publicity department of the Fusion party that Mayor Low's administration has been liberal in the matter of appropriations for school purposes. This claim is not supported by the record. The minutes of the Executive Committee of the Board of Education for December 31, 1902, (page 2,988, Journal of Board of Education, Volume 2) show that the resolutions offered on behalf of the Committee on Buildings were adopted by the Executive Committee, as follows:

"Resolved, That the Board of Estimate and Apportionment be and it is hereby requested to authorize the issue of corporate stock during the year 1903, to the amount of \$8,889,430 for the erection, equipment and improvement of school buildings and the acquisition of sites therefor, and it is further

"Resolved, That said Board be requested to authorize the issue of corporate stock to the amount of \$3,500,000, in accordance with the provisions of clause 9, section 163 of the Charter at the earliest possible date subsequent to January 1, 1903."

These resolutions were accompanied by a report setting forth that 73,000 sittings would have to be provided for in the public schools.

Early in February \$900,000 more was asked for two high schools in Brooklyn, bringing the total requisition up to \$9,788,430. Nothing was done by the Board of Estimate until March, and then of the appropriation asked for only \$3,500,000 was authorized.

Not another cent was authorized until late in the Summer when the newspapers began an agitation, showing how utterly inadequate the school provisions would prove to be in the Fall. The newspapers also called attention to the fact that the debt limit had been raised \$140,000,000 and asked what better use could be made of the city's credit than to provide for the education of the children of the people.

This stirred up the Low administration, and on July 29 made a second authorization of \$3,400,000. None of this money, however, is available until allotted for some specific purpose, as shown in the comparative tables above.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE AND THE TEACHERS.

The Low-Maxwell-Columbia College administration of the school system has developed a system of taxing our public school teachers in a manner that would be described elsewhere by the word "graft." Superintendent Maxwell's requirements in the matter of certificates for appointments, promotions, etc., seem to have been made with a special reference to compelling teachers to take a Columbia College course of lectures and studies. This takes money from their pockets and infringes upon their time. Under the time honored system of this city and under Superintendent John Jasper the advancement of teachers to heads of departments depended upon merit as displayed in the school room. Under the Fusion-Columbia College system the teacher seeking advancement must have the new license, which is granted only upon evidence that the applicant has attended a course of lectures upon teacher's duties, the Columbia College course being plainly indicated as the "open sesame" to advancement and higher salary. The expense for the lecture course is \$40, and the price of books is \$8 or \$10 more.

SUPERINTENDENT MAXWELL'S TEXT BOOK GRAFT.

The Columbia College tax upon the teachers, who seek promotion, is not the only example where graft has been "reformed" into the school department. Before the Greater City was established it was the wholesome rule that no text books in which any superintendent or principals were peculiarly interested should be used in the schools. When the Charter of Greater New York was framed the reformers succeeded in getting into it a provision permitting employees of the Department of Education to be interested in books used in the schools.

This provision was strengthened under the Charter revision, which took effect January 1, 1902; and it is an open secret that Seth Low, one of the members of the Revision Commission, intrusted the work of drafting its sections dealing with educational matters to Dr. Maxwell. It happens that Dr. Maxwell, the Low-Fusion Superintendent of Schools, has his name on a grammar published by the American Book Company, and on other text books.

Since Superintendent Jasper was thrown out, because he was opposed to graft, and Maxwell got control of the schools, the Maxwell grammar has achieved a wonderful popularity among the teachers.

Every school principal orders quantities of Maxwell grammars no matter how much better he may think some other text books may be. As to that, however, his choice has been somewhat confined; for an examination of the supply list shows that one of the most famous grammars long used in this city, and used almost exclusively in many

MAXWELL AND ROGERS AGAINST TEACHERS.

The Low-Maxwell autocrats in the Department of Education were not satisfied with an arbitrary exercise of power such as never had been equalled in previous administrations, and planned to seize autocratic power.

The Conkling Bill providing that a teacher could be dismissed for a violation of a by-law of the Board was inspired by President Henry A. Rogers to make Maxwell's hold absolute.

No greater injury could be conceived than to put the fate of hundreds of teachers of long service and excellent records into the hands of a capricious and opinionated official like Maxwell. Popular opinion was so unanimously against the bill that its effect was felt at Albany, and the measure was defeated.

"FUSION" RAISES AGE OF ADMISSION TO PUBLIC SCHOOLS FROM FIVE TO SIX YEARS.

Children were formerly admitted to the primary schools of this city at the age of five years. Under the Low-Maxwell rules they are not allowed to enter until they are six. If the hundreds of five-year-old children were admitted as formerly the number of pupils forced into half time classes would be much greater than it is now.

In Manhattan and the Bronx, which Boroughs comprise the old City of New York, the elementary school course covered a period of seven years. This continued to be true in these Boroughs of the consolidated city until September of this year, when the new eight year course went into effect. The effect is to add two years to the age of the child in the future when completing the elementary school course. The course of study is very crowded here, and is planned as though it was taken for granted that every child intends to leave it only for the purpose of entering the High Schools and completing a course there.

No thought seems to be given to those pupils, more than 80 per cent. in proportion of the whole, who never obtain anything more than an elementary school training.

In place of fitting this great majority for the activities of the world into which they must plunge at about the age of fourteen years, the elementary course is merely preparatory for entering the High School. No course of study has been completed or rounded out. Smatterings of special studies are allowed to waste the time of such pupils. It would be greatly to their advantage in the future if this time could be given to bookkeeping or some such practical study.

The development of High Schools and neglect of the elementary training that should complete the education of the 80 per cent. above referred to has reached a stage that few of our citizens appreciate. There are three High Schools now in New York, the commercial, the technical and the old fashioned literary ones whose course prepares for college. As only the last named seems to be considered in the grammar school course a greater proportion than 80 per cent. of the students thus throw away a greater part of the last two years in grammar schools. In these last two years the elementary work should differ among different classes of children. Those who are fortunate enough to be able to obtain higher training should have the choice of such a course as now exists.

Those who must leave school at the end of this course to earn their living as soon as the law will let them should be provided with a course of study suitable to their needs.

Common sense would dictate such a line of action; but then what has such an administration to do with common sense? Its officials are not merely faddists. They are extreme faddists. The people of the City of New York do not yet realize the extra burden which this party of faddists has imposed upon the educational system and thus upon the

taxpayers. Nor do they realize how unsatisfactory is the educational provision made for 80 per cent. of those who enter the public schools. If they did, no other subject would need to be considered to insure the defeat of the Low-Fusion administration.

SUPERINTENDENT MAXWELL GIVES NO HOPE OF IMPROVEMENT.

All New York remembers how bitterly the last Democratic administration of the city's affairs was assailed upon allegations that its almost criminal neglect of the public school system was shown by the fact that thirty thousands of children of school age could not be accommodated with seats in full time public school classes. The charges were rung down upon these charges until it might have been supposed that the needs of the children of this city had been absolutely neglected, and that the remote country districts and back-woods places were better supplied with educational facilities than this metropolis.

To-day, in the face of Fusion's failure to remedy this evil, in the face of the further fact that instead of its being checked or lessened the number has increased to over 80,000, we hear some expressions of regret on the part of our Fusion officials, but not the mildest measure of blame; and Dr. Maxwell, the head and front of the Low-Maxwell-Fusion School Machine, complacently says: "I do not expect to live long enough to see the end of the part time classes. They will always be necessary as long as the population keeps growing at the present rate."

PERVERSION OF FACTS OR WHAT FUSION HAS ACTUALLY DONE FOR SCHOOLS.

On a card just issued and spread broadcast by the Citizens' Union, showing what the Fusion-Republican party has done for New York, on the subject of schools, the following is printed, viz:

Schools: "\$14,900,000 were appropriated for New Schools in one and one-half years, against \$3,904,242 in four years under Tammany."

After monies have been set aside or authorized (i. e., promised), by the Board of Estimate and Apportionment for school purposes, before they are available to the Board of Education, specific appropriations for the actual buildings to be erected or property to be purchased must again be made by the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. It is, therefore, apparent that no matter how much is authorized (i. e., promised), the Board of Education cannot make its contracts until the money is thus specifically appropriated.

To verify this financial claim of the Republican-Fusion administration that \$14,900,000 was by them appropriated in one and one-half years, against \$3,904,242 in four years under Tammany, an examination of the minutes of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, Municipal Assembly, Board of Aldermen and the Board of Education to September 1, 1903, was made, which reveals the following true facts, viz:

The Board of Estimate and Apportionment authorized (i. e., promised), the following lump sum amounts to be used by the Board of Education for the erection of school houses and the purchase of sites therefor:

AUTHORIZED.

1898	
1899	\$7,683,640.00
1900	3,500,000.00
1901	3,700,000.00

Total under 4 years' Democratic Administration..	\$14,883,640.00
1902	\$8,000,000.00
1903	6,900,000.00
Total under 12-3 years' Republican Administration..	\$14,900,000.00

There was appropriated by the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, or made available to the Board of Education for specific work or objects for actual contracts for building school houses and the acquire-

ment of sites therefor, including appropriations from bond issues authorized by acts of legislation prior to Greater New York Charter, the following amounts, viz:

APPROPRIATED.

1898	\$1,085,240.00
1899	6,524,020.00
1900	5,289,234.00
1901	4,483,451.00
Total under 4 years' Democratic Administration.....	\$17,372,945.00
1902	\$4,945,431.00
1903	6,732,775.00

Total under 1 2-3 years' Republican Administration, \$11,678,206.00

By reference to the first table, under authorization, it will be seen that the sum of

\$14,900,000, stated by the Citizens' Union as having been appropriated (i. e., promised), in 1902 and 1903, is misleading and that the truth is that this sum was only authorized.

By reference to the second table, under appropriation, it will be seen that in 1902 and 1903 the Republican administration appropriated only, in round numbers, the sum of \$11,678,206.

The table of appropriation further discloses the fact that under the four years of Democratic Van Wyck administration there was actually made available to the Board of Education for the building of school houses and the purchase of sites the sum of \$17,372,945, or an increase of appropriation in favor of the Democratic administration of \$5,704,739.00.

From the above tabulation the true facts are clearly set out in the following:

COMPARATIVE TABLE.

Period.	Republicans. 1902 and 1903.		Democratic. 1898 to 1901.
	Claims. 1½ years.	Truth. 1½ years.	inc. Facts. 4 years.
Bonds Authorized.....	None	\$14,900,000	\$14,883,640
Bonds appropriated in 1902 and 1903 or made available	\$14,900,000	\$1,678,206	\$17,372,945

It is desired to point out the fact that these highly respectable Republican gentlemen of the Citizens' Union, to mislead the public and for their own use or argument, quote the amount of \$14,900,000 "authorized," i. e., promised, by them in 1902 and 1903, but conceal the fact that only \$11,678,207, was appropriated or issued by them or made available for the use of the Board of Education.

To further distort the true facts, these estimable gentlemen name the sum of \$8,904,242, as being the amount appropriated by "Tammany" in four years, while as a matter of fact no such an amount can be deduced from the authentic tables herein shown, and that it should have been shown by them that Tammany did appropriate or make available to the Board of Education in the four years, seventeen millions of dollars instead of \$8,904,242, as stated in their claim.

How much longer will the citizens of New York allow themselves to be deluded by such perversions of facts?

Dr. Low from Brooklyn town,
Came across the ferry,
Dressed out fine in cap and gown,
To find New York quite merry.

"'Tis sad to see," said Dr. Low,
"The people so contented.
In two years' time Reform will show,
Their smiles can be prevented."

Vote against "Fusion" fraud and false pretense.

"FUSION" NEGLECT OF THE DOCKS.

Dock Improvement at a Standstill—The Odell Pier Scandal and Favoritism to Corporations Supplemented by Menace to Commercial Progress.

The "Fusion" administration of the Dock Department has unsuccessfully attacked its predecessors on the point that pier leases and privileges had been let too cheaply. In every instance where an effort to show this had been made by public and competitive letting of adjoining and similar facilities the result has been that the prices secured by Commissioner Hawkes were below those asked by the former board.

The record of the present administration in the matter of letting piers and privileges without open bidding has been even worse. The results in favoritism to the friends or political associates of the Commissioner and to the corporations with which he shows indications of affiliation are scandalous. The injury to the city in the loss of the reasonable revenue from such rentals is considerable.

The Odell lease of Pier 24 is a notable instance of favoritism.

The Central Hudson Steamboat Company, in which Governor Odell is heavily interested, applied for a new lease of that pier, although the company was in possession under a lease that had six years to run. The ostensible reason for this remarkable request was that the company desired to make some improvements and could not afford to do so for so short a time as the life of the lease it held. The real reason was evidently the fact that Governor Odell's relations with the Low administration were such that he saw a chance to get what he wanted now, but could not tell what his chances would be six years later. Every step in the history of the case indicates this plainly. The application of the Steamboat Company was opposed in the Comptroller's office and the Sinking Fund Commission and was not favored or progressed by the Dock Department until

Gov. Odell, in person, called upon the Commissioners at Pier A, and advocated it in some persuasive way that brought immediate results.

The price at which the new lease was executed is a further indication of the motives of the Odell Company in making the application to a "Fusion" administration having an open alliance with the State Republican Machine, of which he is the Boss. The new lease, with two privileges of renewal for long terms at 10 per cent. increase was made for \$31,000 a year, although Pier 24 is 200 feet longer than the two adjoining piers which were let by the old Dock Board for \$40,000, each under renewal terms much less advantageous.

WATER FRONT IDLE AND MONEY WASTED.

In the matter of progress in work of the greatest importance to the commercial and business interests of the city, the present administration of the Dock Departments can be compared with none of its predecessors, and it is hoped that the future gives nothing similar.

The previous administration began the work of improving the water front on North River, between Bloomfield and West Twenty-third streets. The present Commissioner, wishing to make the work his own, threw over approved plans and applied last October to the United States Government for permission to extend the pier headline. The Army Engineers, however, did not consider this extension necessary, and so he has indulged in futile argument with the Government authorities.

The present condition of this most important section is scandalous.

Two-thirds of a mile of water front has been taken from commercial use, and the city is now paying interest on about \$4,000,000 for property taken, with twice as much more to come, yet not a contract to build a pier has been let,

and all this delay because an obscure lawyer cannot make the Army Engineers agree with him on engineering problems.

Liberty street and North River presents another example of waste of the city's money and damage to commercial interests. Work on the new pier has been held up for six months by disputing over a thousand-dollar dredging contract, given after public advertisement. The Commissioner decides the figure too high, thinks the matter over six months, and gives the contract for the same work to a New Jersey man without public letting. In the meantime the city loses \$40,000 rental and a large amount of interest.

Nothing has been done on East River except to complete work already under way when the present Commissioner took office, and to plan two small piers for the South Brooklyn shore.

HOW "INCREASE" OF WHARFAGE IS SHOWN.

A misleading statement of financial results about this department may, of course, be expected in the "Fusion" campaign literature. It comes in the shape of a claim that the new administration has made a large percentage of increase in wharfage collections. Upon investigation, it is disclosed that this apparent increase is a mere matter of book-keeping. The money formerly collected and accounted for as "dock and slip rent" is now collected by the Dock Masters and turned in as "general wharfage." No increase in the total amount of revenues received is accomplished by those tactics.

BUSY ON \$25,000 BOOKMAKING.

The Commissioner himself and the whole department seem to have wasted the last six months in preparing his annual report for the year 1902. He evidently realizes that the report cannot show work accomplished, and so it is to consist of photographs of every kind of craft in New York waters and of himself. For the past month he has divided his time between visits to Newport and cruising on the department's tug with engineers, draftsmen, stenographers, and three photographers, while the city's interests were neglected.

The report will cost the city between twenty-five and thirty-five thousand dollars, as against less than \$1,000 for previous reports. This sum is to be charged to the city in order that a Dock Commissioner, whose work does not show in enduring form, may appear in a picture book of little value and no practical importance to the citizens who foot the bills, as well as bills for his auto cars.

The whole dock administration is grotesque beyond words.

COMPARATIVE WORK IN TWO YEARS OF EACH ADMINISTRATION.

The following table shows the almost complete stoppage of the work of public dock improvement in our harbor. It also shows by the continuance and increase of the work of private improvement that the necessities still call for improvement, and that there is no reason, except neglect and incompetence, for not going ahead.

WORK DONE IN 1900 AND 1901.

	1900.	1901.	Total.
Increase of wharfage room made by city	15,568 lin. ft.	14,131 lin. ft.	29,699 lin. ft.
Increase of wharfage room made by city and private parties..	11,754 lin. ft.	14,499 lin. ft.	26,253 lin. ft.
Superficial area of city's piers increased	344,541 sq. ft.	400,532 sq. ft.	745,073 sq. ft.
New piers built.....	12	9	21
Piers extended	5	7	12

Bulkhead wall built by city.....	2,049 lin. ft.	2,058 lin. ft.	4,107 lin. ft.
Bulkhead wall built by private parties	174 lin. ft.	174 lin. ft.
WORK DONE IN 1902 AND HALF OF 1903.			
	1902.	Half of 1903.	Total.
Increase of wharfage room made by city	11,342 lin. ft.	2,233 lin. ft.	13,575 lin. ft.
Increase of wharfage room made by city and private parties..	22,374 lin. ft.	9,232 lin. ft.	31,606 lin. ft.
Superficial area of city's piers increased	194,403 sq. ft.	34,762 sq. ft.	229,165 sq. ft.
New piers built.....	5	2	7
Piers extended	7	2	9
Bulkhead wall built by city.....	2,067 lin. ft.	194 lin. ft.	2,261 lin. ft.
Bulkhead wall built by private parties.....

LAWKS, HAWKES!

Who gave away our choicest piers
 And laughed at us with "Fusion" jeers;
 Who bought cement from friends of his,
 And then the public sought to quiz?
 Sly Hawkes!

Who cooks a daily table d'hôte,
 On frogs and red ink wine does dote,
 And takes his clerks out every day
 To have a sail on New York Bay?
 Chef Hawkes!

Who tries to fool us for effect,
 So that Seth Low he can elect;
 And prates and boasts of "Fusion" thrift,
 While grafters public money lift?
 Saint Hawkes!

Who made a mountain from a mole,
 And then crawled back into his hole;
 Who cried "stop thief," the while he ran,
 And carried pelf to the Newburgh man?
 Lawks Hawkes!

YOU CAN'T FOOL THE OLD GENTLEMAN ALL THE TIME



THE WOLF IN SHEEP'S CLOTHING

FUSION IN THE FIRE DEPARTMENT.

A Wrecker in Charge—Favoritism, Partisanship, Hypocrisy and Tyranny Characterizing the Ruler of the Fire Fighters.

Mayor Low's attitude toward his Republican appointee as Fire Commissioner, Thomas Sturgis, is one of the most flagrant examples of the humbug of his pretences to be a non-partisan and reform official. Of course, it could not be expected that the Mayor would do anything else but endorse Sturgis in carrying out a pre-election agreement to reward the Purroy faction for its support of Low. It was a surprise, though, even to those who knew Low's peculiarities of character to find that

he was so thoroughly entangled in his relations with Sturgis as to be obliged to gloss over and excuse the latter's violation of the law in the matter of contracts and to commend instead of condemn a guilty official pilloried before the public by the charges of the Comptroller.

Mayor Low in his smug self-sufficiency must be as thick skinned as a rhinoceros to preserve his self-satisfied complacency in such a situation.

THE OUTRAGE ON CHIEF CROKER.

Commissioner Sturgis planned to oust Fire Chief Edward Croker on account of his name and to put Deputy Chief Purroy in the place on account of the political services to "Fusion" of the Hon. Henry D. Purroy. The campaign was inaugurated by granting Chief Croker a two months' vacation, and continued by breaking open his desk and going through his books and papers in his absence.

Hearing of what was going on Chief Croker returned and resumed the duties of his office. The Commissioner refused to allow him to act as Chief for the reason that his vacation had not expired. The Chief insisted on his rights, and the Commissioner made an administrative order relieving him from the command of the uniformed force, but ordering him to report at headquarters every Monday at 10 a. m.

The fight was taken to the courts and resulted in a decision of the Court of Appeals in favor of the Chief, the following extracts from which are interesting.

"While the Fire Commissioner of the City of New York has, under the Charter, the general management and direction of the Fire Department and power to remove the officers and employees thereof upon charges mentioned in the Charter, he has no power to interfere with the specific powers and duties conferred upon and vested in the Chief of the Fire Department by the Charter, and no power to relieve him from his duties or remove him from his position because he refuses to continue a vacation granted to him at his own request.

"No charges were preferred against the officer (Chief Croker), and while the reason given for the action of the Commissioner was the refusal of the Chief to continue his vacation, yet he was required to report for duty every week, and this was the only function or duty he had left. He was thus prevented from exercising the power given to him by law, by an order made in violation of the law.

"The Commissioner, by attempting, even in the best of faith, to impose a compulsory vacation upon the Chief of the department, could not compel that official to absent himself and thus prevent him from discharging a statutory duty. As long as he was Chief, with no charges pending against him, he could not be suspended for either a definite or an indefinite period."

The statutory powers and duties of the Chief are persistently alluded to in the decision, and the more the case is studied the more

apparent it becomes that these powers and duties furnished as strong an inducement for the attack upon Chief Croker as the Purroy agreement did. The Court of Appeals says further:

"The Chief had the absolute right to exercise the public function of recommending promotion and assignments to duty, and, except during his absence or disability, no one else could exercise that function. No assignment or promotion could be made without his recommendation. In the discharge of that duty he was subject to no one, not even the Commissioner. Within the narrow limits of this statutory power he was as independent of control as the Commissioner himself in his wide field. While he could be removed by the Commissioner after a trial upon one of the charges mentioned in the statute, he could not, at least until charges had been preferred against him, be deprived, even temporarily, of the right to make the recommendation, which was an essential prerequisite to any assignment or promotion. This statutory right was part of his office and he could not be deprived of it, directly or indirectly, while he held the office. * * *

"As to all of the duties except those conferred upon him, exclusively, by statute, he was subject to the orders of the Commissioner, but as to his statutory duties he was subject only to the commands of the statute itself. To this limited extent an attribute of sovereignty has been entrusted to him which was inseparable from the office and could only be exercised by the person who held the office."

The "non-partisans" put into the Fire Department by Mayor Low were thus more than eager to carry out the latter's pre-election Purroy agreement so as to get these important statutory powers into compliant hands. Commissioner Sturgis, however, was convinced that he had made a mistake in his arbitrary methods long before the law was declared by the Court of Appeals as above. The press with substantial unanimity denounced his course, and the representatives of the vast insurance and business interests of this city were heard from in bitter criticism of the petty politics which was destroying the discipline and efficiency of the department that protected the lives and property of the people from fire.

Commissioner Sturgis was not moved from his purpose, though. He persisted with the connivin' spirit which his Boss Tom Platt avows as his guide and studied out a way to dismiss the Chief, which he fondly imagines to be within the forms of law, but which will be contested for the Chief until the Court of Appeals is heard from again. He made charges this time, and although they were obviously frivolous, had the Chief before himself as trial Commissioner and dismissed the too popular fire fighter. Aside from the question of good taste and fair dealing involved in the Commissioner's Protean role of prosecutor and judge, there are many legal questions raised by this trial, and it is confidently expected that Chief Croker's reinstatement is only a matter of time.

INTOXICATED WITH POWER.

The Croker-Purroy conspiracy gave Sturgis the habit. From carrying out the campaign bargains of Mayor Low to the gratifying of his own little revenges was an easy step. In appointments and promotions he went along the same lines of partisanship and favoritism.

When the time came to make Purroy's appointment as Chief permanent, Sturgis was up against the problem of keeping his pet candidate from being beaten in a competitive Civil Service examination. Every one knew that Purroy could not come out at the head or any list. In view of the well understood Purroy proclivities of the appointing power all of the eligible officers sidestepped the examination, with the exception of Deputy Chief Lally, who insisted on taking the examination for Chief. So Sturgis was compelled to set up the pins for a non-competitive examination, and thus shut out Lally even from the chance of showing what he could do as compared with Purroy. It would not do to let any one have a chance to make a show of the Commissioner's department pet and the Mayor's political protege.



Mayor Low's interest in the matter was sufficient to induce the "Reform" Municipal Civil Service Commission to comply with the wishes of Sturgis. In Civil Service as in everything else the "Reformers" have movable standards. What they require of others is no guide to what they feel free to do themselves. All of their professions about Civil Service were set at naught by their action in the Purroy case.

Though evidently pained by this slip of their fellow reformers the National Civil Service Reform Association refrains from any scathing criticism of the Ogden Board or Sturgis for the great diversity between their practice and their preaching. On page 121 of the August number of Good Government National Secretary Elliot H. Goodwin says mildly, but rather plaintively:

"It is a great pity that, under this Reform Administration, there could not have been a real competitive examination for Chief of the Fire Department."

The case of Deputy Chief John Binns is an excellent example of the devious ways of Sturgisism. Binns was made Battalion Chief on a wonderful record of efficiency and bravery. His promotion happened when Sturgis was a member of the old Fire Board so that he knew this record well. Binns was considered a model officer by Chiefs Shay, Bonner and Croker. He is a Bennett medal man. On his advent as Low's Commissioner, Sturgis took up Binns at once. The Chief was at the head of the list for promotion to Deputy Chief, but was only acting in that capacity while drawing pay as Battalion Chief. It was thought that he would get his deserved advancement without delay.

The opening of the Low-Sturgis campaign against Chief Croker was the means of a fall from grace for poor Binns. The Commissioner's canvass for support in this dirty work among the superior officers of the force struck a snag in Binns, and then it became apparent that the latter had lost prestige with the executive head of the department. Every fireman knew why Binns was out with the Commissioner. Battalion Chiefs Burns and Gooderson leaped into favor with Sturgis. Every fireman knew why. They were the only two of the chief officers who did not make a statement in support of the efficiency of the department under Chief Croker. Binns and the rest of the Battalion Chiefs told the truth and stood by their Chief on his record.

So Sturgis punished Binns by giving the first appointment as Deputy Chief to Chief Kruger, who was second on the list. Then he asked for a new eligible list to try and get some more names ahead of Binns for promotion. The Municipal Service Commissioners again did his bidding, though it was perfectly apparent that his purpose was to try to shut Binns out and put in his two new pets. The plot failed, as Burns and Gooderson were unable to make percentages good enough to put them ahead of Binns. He was still at the head when the new list came out. The only way that Sturgis could reward them for their assistance in his dirty work against Chief Croker was to take the first three names and make three promotions to the rank of Deputy Chief. To appoint the second man again and call for another list would have made the proof of the Sturgis tactics too plain. So Binns got his promotion at last, but he was immediately sent into exile in Williamsburg.

BRUTAL TREATMENT OF RUSH.

The general condemnation of Sturgis for his treatment of Lieutenant John Rush would have been intensified had it been known that the motive for it was found in the fact that he would not lend himself to the Commissioner's purposes in the Croker case. Even as it was, every newspaper in the city denounced the Sturgis action as outrageous. The public sentiment aroused was so strong that Sturgis had to abandon his scheme to throw Rush out of the department, and was forced to be content to banish him to the limbo of the penal colony in the Fourth Battalion.

Lieutenant Rush was a model fireman and capable officer. He was and is Supervising Engineer of the Department. At the Wicke fire he reported the scarcity of water to Chief Croker. One of the Sturgis fake charges against Chief Croker was in relation to this report of scarcity, and an effort was made to prove that the report was false. The evidence of Rush supported Chief Croker in this report. In his

resentment Sturgis attacked the young fireman with great malignity, dragging out the record of his long forgotten term in the Reformatory. Of course, Rush had a pardon and produced it, but Sturgis would have hounded him from the department had not public opinion forced him to renounce this revenge. Perhaps some of our self-righteous reformers may be sincere in the belief that this worse than Pecksniffian attack on a man who was honestly trying to live down an error of his youth can be justified. The great heart of the people decided differently, and Sturgis had to weaken.

INDICTABLE OFFENSES CONDONED.

Fire Commissioner Sturgis gained unpleasant notoriety in another direction when Comptroller Grout discovered that he had violated the law many times by neglecting to advertise for bids for work done in repairing engine houses to the amount of more than \$1,000.

Any official not protected by the magic name of "Reform" would have been indicted for such an infraction of the law, but we have a "Reform" District Attorney, and that was the Sturgis good luck.

The Sturgis subterfuge was to divide the job into its separate items of carpenter work, plumbing, painting, etc. When the legality of this scheme was questioned the opinion of the Corporation Counsel was adverse to Sturgis, but the latter did not abandon the fake until Comptroller Grout held up the bills and reported the law-defying Fire Commissioner to the Mayor. This High Priest of "Reform" astonished the public and some of his admirers by condoning the offense as a merely technical violation of the law, and added that Mr. Sturgis was so good a Fire Commissioner that a little thing like that should not be noticed.

STURGIS DEFIES LAW.

Comptroller Grout's letter, dated March 17, 1903, informs the Mayor that "This violation occurred in November and December last on some ten fire houses, for sums running from \$1,500 to over \$3,000 on each house."

The Mayor's mistake of justifying a violation of the law on the ground that "it was such a little one," was not the result of any lack of good advice in the matter. The Evening Post tried to keep him straight with this admonition:

"Comptroller Grout appears to have demolished even the technical defense which the Fire Commissioner set up in the matter of his violation of law in the matter of awarding contracts in excess of \$1,000 without competitive bidding. This raises a grave question of Mayor Low's duty in the premises. It is not a case where any personal or political considerations should be allowed to enter, even by indirection. The whole test is, shall a Reform administration permit what it would vehemently condemn a Tammany administration for allowing? The law is no respecter of reformers. * * * It is for the Mayor to sink all thought of anything but the unflinching and impartial execution of the law and to treat Commissioner Sturgis just as if he were a Tammany hold-over caught in flagrant dereliction."

BONFIRES BOOMED.

A despicable little fake fathered by Sturgis is being used by the Fusion politicians in their false claims of what the administration has done for New York. His whole policy is to issue misleading statements, but in at least one feature of this policy he becomes simply ridiculous. The poor clerks at Fireman's Hall cannot keep their faces straight as they juggle the figures to bolster up the bulletined boast that the average fire loss has been greatly reduced by the efficiency of the incumbent Commissioner. To be sure, the records show the lower average, but to be complete and honest the statement of this fact should add that it is due to the scheme of reporting as "fires," and cumbering up the record with them, all "still alarms," and even all the cases where sparks, smoke, or perhaps a little blaze, have been heard of by the firemen. A blaze in the trolley slot which delays no cars and lasts scarcely a minute, must go on the record if it is learned of at the nearest fire house. And if it is

not learned of and put on the record the "Reform" Commissioner is likely to hear of it somehow and make trouble. The little bonfire which some toddling children coax into a moment's fitful flare, before their watchful parents descend upon them and extinguish it to warm them by another method, must not be overlooked in the reports or in the calculation of the average fire loss for Fusion campaign purposes.

No previous administration ever burdened the records with such rubbish. It remained for a Fusion official to see how such trifles could be utilized to reduce the average of fire losses. His order on the subject has been reiterated several times and it is perfectly understood in the department that Sturgis has got to have a lot of little fires somehow or other. Shortly after the first promulgation of this order there happened a series of large fires down town in Manhattan. Night after night flames swept the business district until the firemen were exhausted by overwork and discouraged by the belief that the newly made Chief of the Sturgis pattern was a hoodoo. But, while these losses were piling up, the firemen, under the spur of the Commissioner's order, were reporting all the ten cent and no-damage bonfires. Taking a \$300,000 blaze with one or two of the ten-cent ones, is practically dividing the average fire loss by two or three.

This plan works out so well in the preparation of misleading statistics for Citizens' Union campaign purposes that on August 13, 1903, another special order, stirring up the force on the subject, was issued.

NEW PROTECTION NEGLECTED.

The time spent by Commissioner Sturgis in long trials of men and officers under his policy of oppression and tyranny and the attention he has to give to the preparation of misleading statistics, probably explain why he has not organized a single new fire company during his administration. Taxpayers and citizens have made many requests and demands for additional protection, but nothing has been done in this direction by Sturgis.

MORE VIOLATIONS OF LAW.

The Sturgis record in the matter of the Fire Marshal is another instance of the utter disregard for the law throughout the "Fusion" administration. Nothing could be plainer than the charter provision that there shall be a Fire Marshal and that his salary shall be \$3,000 a year. On taking office Sturgis detailed Captain Thomas F. Freel, then on a captain's salary of \$2,160 a year, to perform the duties of Fire Marshal. Subsequently Freel was promoted to Chief of Battalion at \$3,300 a year. He is still detailed as Fire Marshal.

It keeps the experts of the Finance Department busy to prevent the Sturgis administration of the Fire Department from violating the law and mixing things up generally. Early last Spring Mr. Sturgis took a notion to convert some of the bonds in the Fire Department Pension Fund into cash. True to his policy of self-sufficiency (in which he only emulates his sponsor, Mayor Low) he consulted no law and no adviser. He took from the safety vaults bonds of the City of New York to the amount of \$30,000 and, on his own responsibility, sold them at private sale to friendly brokers. It was his intention to sell \$20,000 more of bonds in the same illegal fashion, but Comptroller Grout called a halt. The Finance Department had soon learned to its surprise that bonds of the city were being sold by a member of the city government at private sale, and this, too, at a time when the city had surplus cash on hand. Mayor Low was promptly notified of the misconduct of the Fire Commissioner, but of course did nothing about it. Several days later the \$20,000 bundle was quietly turned into the Comptroller's office by the Sturgis secretary and mentor, Billy Leary, and a check for that amount was in due time issued to the Fire Commissioner as Trustee of the Pension Fund.

PETTY JEALOUSIES CONTROL.

One of the most contemptible exhibitions of the infinite littleness of the Sturgis administration in the Fire Department is shown in the treatment of the search light fire engines. These pieces of department apparatus, since their appearance four years ago have been regarded by the firemen of this city and of the entire country as among the

best inventions for the assistance of the firemen in fighting night fires. But under the present regime it is seen that the search light is unfortunate in having been invented by Chief Croker. It suffered from having the fatal fault of bearing a name plate on which is engraved "Croker Portable Search Light Fire Engine." That kept all three of these machines out of the Sturgis annual parade of the department, though even the little coffee wagon was in line. There was no possible reason for the search lights to be kept in quarters during the day, even if they were being used whenever needed at night. But the fact is that, from motives of petty jealousy and with a reckless disregard of the safety of the men, Chief Purroy has never ordered these machines used since he has been Chief. When he is away on vacation, that is forty-eight hours every week and all the other time he can get the Commissioner to stand for, Chief Purroy's substitutes gladly use the search light apparatus at big night fires. They have each a crew of two men and they are due at all second alarm fires. They cost \$3,000 a year in salaries, which amount is nearly all wasted by Purroy's tactics.

STURGIS HAS HUMOR.

Sturgis stands high with the rank and file of the Fire Department in one particular, and that is as a humorist. They have on file his special order of January 16, 1903, in which he says:

"Appointments will be made for merit only. Faithful service will be recognized and transfers will only be made for the good of the service.

Also: "Do your duty and you are safe. An era of favoritism on the one hand and tyranny on the other has existed here. It has passed away. Vindictiveness forms no part of the Commissioner's policy."

• AN INCOMPETENT FIRE CHIEF.

Committed to his appointment before he assumed charge of the Fire Department, Commissioner Sturgis for nearly a year has kept at the head of the uniformed force a chief who is regarded by the officers and firemen as thoroughly incompetent.

So long has the name of Purroy in the Fire Department been associated with poor firemanship that to-day Sturgis' Chief fails to arouse in his subordinates that enthusiasm so necessary to a successful warfare against fire. Distrusted by his former superiors, Shay, Bonner and Croker, the present Fire Chief is regarded as inferior in efficiency to the officers he commands. The utter lack of confidence in their Chief on the part of the officers and firemen is becoming more apparent every day. The absence of enthusiasm and effective discipline is noted at every fire. Already the lives of four brave firemen have been sacrificed at fires at which Purroy has been in command, and his judgment, displayed at many large fires, has been such that under any other administration it would have warranted charges of incompetency against him.

The firemen of this city have as their commander a Chief who is old and infirm at the age of 47, whose career in the Fire Department has won for him an unenviable reputation, whose personal manners have made him unpopular with every rank and grade, and whose judgment at fires has resulted in the loss of hundreds of thousand of dollars worth of property.

It was a knowledge of the incapacity of Purroy that caused Chiefs Bonner and Croker to pass his name when looking for a substitute on a vacation or a day off.

To these great firemen Purroy seemed to lack all the qualities that go to make a commanding officer, and they feared to leave such a man in charge of the department even for twenty-four hours.

That this opinion of former Chiefs was well founded there is ample evidence in the deplorable judgment of Purroy shown at large fires during the year. Blunders that would have called for charges at any other time were permitted to pass without comment by Sturgis, who did not dare to criticise his own appointment.

THE "TWO NINES" FOR A SMALL BLAZE.

The sending out of the dreaded "two nines" for a small first alarm blaze in an uptown residence neighborhood was surpassed only by the amazing attempt to extinguish a burning business block, at the Fayerweather & Ladew fire in East Houston street with a handful of engines. In each extreme it showed Purroy as he stands before his own officers.

In the first instance Purroy found himself in command of a comparatively small fire. His companies did not reach the scene quickly enough and he lost his head.

In another minute the department and the city were shocked by the sounding of the "two nines," indicative of a great conflagration, and the last resort of the firemen to check the progress of a fire. For miles and miles on every side the streets and avenues were filled with flying engines and fire trucks bound for the street in which stood Purroy watching the smoldering embers of the fire. When the companies reached the scene they were told to go back, that their services were not needed. The officers looked at the little fire that caused such a scare, then at Purroy and smiled. It was another instance of his judgment. The streets in the vicinity of the fire were congested with apparatus, and for nearly an hour a large section of the city was left without fire protection. This blunder of Purroy was roundly condemned by everyone but one—Thomas Sturgis.

It was only a few weeks later that the Fayerweather & Ladew fire occurred in Houston street. Purroy assumed command and a third alarm was sent in. Then followed a fourth alarm. The fire spread with great rapidity. Flames leaped twenty feet in the air and across the street. The fire officers wondered why a fifth alarm was not sent in for the fire was plainly getting away from the firemen. Purroy saw the flames from the street. His Assistant Chiefs looked for the "two nines," but the Chief was determined he would never again send in that signal.

And so the fire burned and notwithstanding that for seven hours the firemen exhausted themselves in their efforts to keep the fire from spreading across the street, the chief refused to summon further assistance.

Another blunder on the part of Purroy that caused Commissioner Sturgis much anxiety was committed at a fire in Greene street only a few days later. The alarm sounded from box 236. A second and third alarms were sent in and Purroy taking command sent in a fourth alarm. For several hours the firemen labored before the blaze was under control.

Purroy, from his usual position in the street, pronounced the fire out and ordered the companies home. Getting into his carriage he started away from the scene. A few minutes later flames again burst forth from the building.

The companies were called back, and with them Purroy. For the second time he sent a fourth alarm for the fire. Only after four hours' desperate work were the firemen able to master the flames. The error of Purroy cost the property owners and insurance companies several hundred thousands of dollars. The Fire Chief was condemned on all sides. To save him from further criticism Commissioner Sturgis ordered Fire Marshal Freel to investigate and, to the amazement of the firemen, announced that his Fire Chief was not at fault, the second fire being in no way caused by the first.

It is the general impression among firemen that Purroy's only interest in the department is to draw his pay. This impression is the result of the go-as-you-please policy of the Chief, and also due to the fact that he has been off duty a greater length of time than any Chief who ever held the position. For months he has taken two days off every week, in addition to an extended vacation. His officers are at sea as to when he is on duty. The officers complain that at fires he regards his own safety before that of his men. He was never commended for bravery, and the example of Chief Purroy standing outside of a building ordering subordinates to face the punishment has been anything but encouraging to the brave men who fight the battle.

LOW=GREENE POLICE.

Police Outrages, Inefficiency and Incapacity—The Department Ruled by Ignorant Theorists in the Interests of Rural Republicanism.

Mayor Low's methods in connection with the administration of the Police Department furnish convincing proof of his absolute surrender to the Republican State machine. They also furnish evidence of the peculiarities of his own vacillating character. His first appointment, Colonel Partridge, hampered by the effort of his Chief to keep on both sides of the excise question, was unable to make any impression upon the Police Department. The Commissioner was rather weak himself, but he was placed in a most difficult position by the contradictions in the record of the Mayor. In his campaign efforts to secure the support of the friends of personal liberty, Candidate Low had committed himself to a policy which may be described as liberal. In the same campaign his bait to secure the suffrages of the church and temperance element was an expressed purpose to enforce the laws strictly.

Under these discouraging circumstances and his own limitations of strength Commissioner Partridge allowed the Police Department to drift helplessly. It was no better than before in the important particulars which had been severely attacked in the "Fusion" campaign. The liquor dealers, who up to January 1, 1902, had been taxed \$5 apiece for some mysterious purpose in connection with their Sunday opening, now found that they had \$10 or more to pay.

The gambling houses, places of ill repute, pool rooms, and sporting resorts of all characters flourished without any apparent attempt to control them. Pulpit and press joined in ridiculing the monumental failure of the predictions made for the new "Fusion" administration.

THE RABBI JOSEPH RIOT.

In the direction of real police work, the force was worse than before, discipline disappeared, crime and vice were rampant and the list of murders undetected ran up to the number of scores.

For the first time in many years the streets of New York were the scene of a riotous demonstration, which the slightest exhibition of police foresight would have rendered impossible. This riot developed from an exhibition of hoodlumism on the occasion of the funeral of Rabbi Joseph, a revered co-religionist who was idolized by the Jewish people of the East Side. For several days the streets in the neighborhood of the synagogue where the body lay were crowded with a surging throng. Every indication pointed to the overwhelming character of the crowd that would be attracted by the exercises and obsequies. In the neighborhood were several well known danger points, notably the corner on which a big printing press factory stands. This corner had become well known as a headquarters of the "Whisker Pullers," as the persecutors of helpless Jews in that neighborhood are called. No captain of a precinct, no inspector of a district, no Deputy Commissioner in charge of the uniformed force, no Commissioner at the department's head was excusable for overlooking, not the possibilities, but the probabilities of the result that followed.

It testified to the utter demoralization of the Police Department as a factor in preserving order.

To be sure, when roused by the outrages of the riotous crowd, the commanding officers rallied, and made a sufficient show of force to quell the disturbance and restore order. In doing this, however, they only

added to the outrage on the unoffending Hebrews by the unnecessarily harsh use of clubs and violence to effect that purpose.

The fellow citizens of the sufferers on this occasion, having in mind the extravagant promises made in the "Fusion" campaign that their welfare would be the administration's one thought, appealed confidently to Mayor Low for redress, and for the punishment of those responsible for the neglect from which they had suffered. They got some fair words, but no one was punished. One police captain whose responsibility in the matter was much less than that of any of his commanding officers, or that of the Commissioner, was worried into resigning his position, but the real fault has never been expiated.

ODELL HUNTS PARTRIDGE.

Commissioner Partridge learned no lesson from this incident, but continued his easy-going administration for the full year of 1902. The record of failures and the list of undetected crimes, unsuppressed disorder and flourishing vice continued to grow.

At the close of the year the volume of complaint and dissatisfaction was so great that any one with less than the smug self-sufficiency of Mayor Low would have heeded it, and guided his actions accordingly. Made helpless by his peculiar characteristics the Mayor did nothing. But his Republican allies, Governor Odell and the rest came to the rescue. They knew that the Mayor was incapable of reaching a decision and carrying it out, so they arranged for Commissioner Partridge to tender his resignation. He said that he was sick, and his appearance supported that assertion, but the department was worse off than he was. Governor Odell's kindly administrations extended further. He arranged to supplant Partridge with General Francis Vinton Greene, a strong Republican and far from being like Partridge in lack of vim, vigor and energy.

WHAT WAS THE MATTER WITH THURSTON?

During Col. Partridge's term a peculiar experience was had in the office of the Deputy Commissioner, the position once made conspicuous to the point of notoriety by the incumbency of one Devery, now gone and forgotten. Col. Partridge first put in this position another military gentleman, with militia experience, Col. Thurston, as Deputy Commissioner. Thurston was quite active and forceful, especially in the trial room, where delinquent policemen were made to tremble before him. He did not make much of a mark anywhere else, and there is considerable mystery about his retirement. It is said that "Boss" Cutting, after a heart to heart talk with Thurston over some reports about grafting in the department, recommended the colonel's resignation, and it was tendered and promptly accepted.

GREENE'S RECORD KNOWN.

General Greene was not unknown to the citizens of New York. He had served as Chairman of the Republican County Committee, and he had paraded as colonel of one of our crack regiments.

He had managed the Barber Asphalt Company's business in this city, and last, but not least, he had promoted the formation of the unsavory Asphalt Trust.

This last mentioned operation was remembered with sorrow by all who had been induced to invest in Greene's scheme. It was a gigantic one with a capitalization running into many millions, but when the bubble burst it was found that this capitalization was based upon very much inflated security. The plants and properties taken into the consolidation were found after the failure to have been so taken at an exorbitant valuation. The sufferers by the collapse are now seeking, through the courts, to secure the return of some part of their losses, and it is alleged that the profits made in the enormous valuations of these collected plants went largely into the pockets of General Greene. It is in this direction that they are looking for redress and vengeance.

GREENE—THE REPUBLICAN HENCHMAN.

The new Low Commissioner speedily demonstrated his energy. Since he has been in office the record of dismissals, appointments and promo-

tions has exceeded those ever made by any Commissioner or heard no matter how long a term of service they may have enjoyed.

In view of General Greene's record it goes without saying that these dismissals, appointments and promotions were dictated entirely by political considerations. The motive to Republicanize the police force was obvious. It was part of the game of Odell, Low & Co. to Republicanize the City of New York.

General Greene's energy was also shown in the direction of stiffening up the police in the enforcement of all of the oppressive blue laws on the statute books. Riding furiously in a red devil wagon the Commissioner spent his Sundays stirring up the patrolmen and precinct officers in this work. Not only was the Excise law oppressively enforced, with its full measure of discrimination against the people in the poorer sections of the city, where they have no hotels or clubs to resort to, but the necessary Sunday business of all small tradesmen was stopped to the inconvenience and hardship of customers and store-keepers alike.

With all this energy and activity it unfortunately remained true that vice and crime received no check and there was no improvement to be noted over the conditions under Commissioner Partridge.

SHAMEFUL USE OF PUBLIC FUNDS.

Commissioner Greene's many activities, like his predecessor's few ones, took peculiar directions. Public opinion was not at all favorable to them under the circumstances. Even if they had been productive of good results, there would have been much criticism of them. In their utter failure they were ridiculous. The General imported Western sleuths, furnished them with money to spend in the Tenderloin, and risk in the gambling houses. General Greene backed up his private secretary, "the never to be forgotten Coursey," to the amount of \$1,500 of the city's money in a crusade upon the Tenderloin. The crusade resulted in no prosecutions or convictions, but left Mr. Coursey battered all up by reason of a row in a saloon. In connection with this bill Comptroller Grout made a very stiff fight before paying it. He thought such use of the public money very objectionable. Concerning it he said:

"I threw out two bills the other day for \$30, charged to the Police Contingent Fund by two Central Office detectives. I got the full story of how they spent the money. They put on evening clothes, went to the theatre, had supper, and then paid a night hawk cabman to take them to a disorderly house in Forty-ninth street where, they said, the rest of the money was spent on wine and cigarettes and in getting evidence. The women were all of age, and there had been no complaint against that house, so that the detectives did not have the slightest excuse within reason for the good time at the expense of the city."

"But city money is being used in that way all the time and it is an outrage."

The Coursey methods of police duty and those referred to above by Comptroller Grout were carried to a great extreme by Commissioner Greene.

A few of the bills for this particular work have found their way into print and it may not be amiss to introduce them here. They are merely samples of hundreds of other bills.

January 23, 1903:

Cab Hire.....	\$4.00
Cabman, for introduction.....	5.00
Two Bottles of Champagne.....	10.00
Cigarettes for Women.....	.35
Two Women.....	22.00
	----- \$41.35

Similar expenditures are credited to the Partridge administration also, but that administration lacked the advertising advantages of a Coursey.

On April 23 1902, a bill was rendered as follows:

Paid Two Women of West 46th Street House..	\$20.00
Paid to Servant for Wine.....	10.00
Paid for Cab Hire.....	2.00

\$32.00

In a campaign against a disorderly house on Broadway, Williamsburg, the following expenses were incurred:

January 31, 1903:	
Six rounds for twenty inmates, including whisky, soft drinks and cigars.....	\$10.80
January 31, 1903:	
Dinner for two female inmates, officer and self.....	6.76
February 1, 1903:	
Four rounds of refreshments for fifteen inmates.....	7.40
February 1, 1903:	
Breakfast for two female inmates, officer and self.....	4.50

\$29.46

In 1902, out of 321 bills for disbursements of the Police Department, 96 contained items aggregating as follows:

Paid to women.....	\$987.25
Paid for wine and disorderly houses.....	172.50
Paid for room rent.....	118.55

\$1,278.60

In 40 out of 170 bills for 1903 (this account is only up to May 1) are these totals:

Paid to women.....	\$306.50
Paid for wine, etc.....	71.40
Paid for room rent.....	64.75

\$442.65

MORE REPUBLICAN PLOTTING.

Commissioner Greene found time in spite of this energetic Day and Sunday Police duties of oppression to work up a scheme with his friend Governor Odell to secure legislation at Albany that would fix him in his position for a ten years' term. The pretense of it, which Mayor Low joined heartily in supporting, was that the necessities for reform in the condition of the department were so great that even an energetic military gentleman like General Greene could not hope to do it in the ordinary term. And this after "Fusion"-Reform had been in control a whole year. The Police Commissioner, like other appointments in the city government made by the Mayor, is subject to the power of removal law, which makes the Mayor supreme over all of them throughout his whole term. It seemed to be evident even in the ranks of the Fusion forces that the disgusted people of New York would not tolerate their administration beyond the current year. So the important position, from the Republican machine standpoint, of head of the city police was worth doing something to retain.

This Greene-Low-Odell scheme is another one of the bits of conclusive evidence of the absolute coalition of so-called "Fusion" in this city and the Republican machine.

As an Albany correspondent wrote to the New York Sun on March 3:

"Everyone who knows anything about politics can readily understand why Governor Odell wants a friendly New York City Police Commissioner, who will be in office for several years to come."

The reasons which everyone knows were not the only ones that influenced Governor Odell. He also had his eye on the fact that a bill was then on its way through the Legislature making material increases in the New York police force within the ensuing two years. Knowing as he did the well understood predilection of "Fusion" officials for appointing non-residents to office in New York City, he was sure that the right Commissioner in Mulberry street would be a good political investment, on account of the chance this would give for up-State patronage. However, this scheme of perpetuating General Greene in office failed. The partisan project excited such general public indignation that it had to be abandoned.

OH! MILES O'REILLY.

General Greene gayly turned again to his campaign of oppressive enforcement of the Blue Laws, which come to us from the Republican majority of the Legislature.

An instance of this campaign was the installation in charge of what is known as the Tenderloin Precinct of a Police Captain who secured his training in Brooklyn, and was utterly without metropolitan experience, except for a few months' spent in the Fourth Ward. As might be expected, a Captain with such experience working on the lines of such a Commissioner as Greene, and with such weapons as the country-made Blue Laws was very much out of place in the centre of the city's hotel and amusement life.

He floundered about in ludicrous fashion, making blundering arrests and fruitless raids. He was openly laughed at by the inhabitants of his precinct, and, in fact, by the public generally. Even General Greene's hardhood was not equal to keeping up the farce, and it was not long before Captain Miles O'Reilly was relegated to the quiet of Brooklyn, from which he had emerged. On his return to Brooklyn, he gave even more ample testimony to the unsuitable character of his equipment for metropolitan police work. As though confirmed in an appetite for sensationalism by his New York experience, he made a bid to remain in the public eye by inaugurating a crusade against public euchre parties in Brooklyn. He found that playing cards were used in the game, that they were shuffled the same as real gamblers shuffle cards, and that there were prizes such as gold clocks, fishing sets, bric-a-brac and fancy neckties, won at these parties. This was sufficient to rouse him to action.

"Why," he is quoted as saying, "it certainly looks as though there were something for me to do. I am not dead sure that the parties are not on the level, but they look suspicious, and if they are crooked—why, they have come to the wrong precinct to run them. Miles O'Reilly won't stand for such. Sure I would not arrest the women the first time, but you bet I would take them by the arm and say: 'Get into some other business, my dear, or move on. This won't do in O'Reilly's precinct.' That's the way I would talk to them."

POLICE OPPRESSION DENOUNCED.

General Greene's zeal to enforce the Blue Laws enacted by his party friends led him from the extreme of the ridiculous, as shown in the case of Captain O'Reilly to the extreme of oppression in the case of many raids. Such raids were so numerous and so outrageous in their character that Supreme Court Justice William J. Gaynor went on record in public denunciation of them, in January, 1903. The strong language Judge Gaynor used was as follows:

"The idea that the police may trample under foot the law regulating their conduct, in order to make other people observe the law regulating their's is strange indeed. It is wholly inconsistent with free government and belongs to despotism.

"There seems to be more lawless and brutal arrests and house invasions than ever before in the City of New York. Within a few weeks over 1,000 persons, men and women, have been arrested in batches and locked up over night, without being even so much as accused by the police or any one else of any criminal acts whatever. Many of these people were mere visitors to the city, who stepped into the cafe of some licensed place, and in a little while found themselves locked up for the night. The recent lawless and brutal arrest and incarceration in that way of 126 persons in Manhattan is only a sample. The Captain and a retinue of his policemen arrested these people at the cigar counter and bar and seated at tables in the cafe on the street floor of a hotel open to the public under a license from the State, and where any one had a right to be. They did not let a soul escape.

"The prisoners being arraigned in court the following morning, the Magistrate asked the Captain: 'What charge do you make against these prisoners?'

"'I make no charge,' answered the Captain.

"Then why did you arrest them and bring them here?" asked the Magistrate.

"To suppress vice," answered the Captain, wholly unconscious apparently that there are more vices than one, and that he was guilty of a most dangerous vice by his lawless conduct.

"Did you see them commit any criminal offense?" inquired the Magistrate.

"No," said the Captain.

"The Magistrate told him he had committed a great wrong. He could have told him that he had committed a grave crime of oppression, defined in the Penal Code, and held him for trial therefor. In the same way a batch of 70 were arrested while seated at tables in a public restaurant licensed by the State over here in Brooklyn, locked up over night and discharged by a Magistrate next morning for lack of any charge against them. No one knows why they were raided and arrested. They were in a restaurant which is a rival of another restaurant for after theatre custom. Are the police to serve one rival by extinguishing the other?

"Batches of 63 persons, 230 persons and so on through a long list were recently treated in the same way in Manhattan."

This attitude of Justice Gaynor received very cordial support in the columns of many of the newspapers. The others were so wedded to their idols of "Fusion" that they refrained from taking cognizance of this judicial denunciation of the "Fusion" Police Commissioner's outrages.

Even later, when the outrages were magnified to such an extent that a total of 593 citizens were subjected to the indignity of police seizure, these "Fusion" organs were silent. The Sun, however, referring to this wholesale arrest of more than half a thousand citizens said:

"The responsibility for these illegal acts threatening the rights of every citizen must go right through the police to its highest officer. Clearly the responsibility for these acts rests on the Department of Police. The Commissioner of Police is responsible to the public for the conduct of the department, and a man inspired with a due sense of right and wrong would have issued the order needed to bring the department to its senses weeks ago. Judge Gaynor's view of the situation is of the essence of that personal liberty which is always regarded in this country as among the most sacred possessions of its citizens."

MAYOR LOW APPEALED TO IN VAIN.

Even District Attorney Jerome was obliged as the law officer of this community to withhold his indorsement and even condemn these practices of the "Fusion" Police Commissioner. In all this Mayor Low's complacency remained unruffled. No thought of improving the over-zealous and law defying Police Commissioner ever entered his head. No response was evoked from him when he was called upon by the press to declare himself on the subject. He was even deaf to such a notice as the following, printed in an influential New York paper:

"It is the duty of the Commissioner of Police to prevent a repetition of the outrages which called forth Justice Gaynor's letter. If he neglects to exercise his power to this end, it is the duty of the Mayor to remove him from office."

The Mayor did not act nor did the Police Commissioner prevent the repetition many times of these outrages.

POLICE ATTACKED FROM PULPIT.

The general inefficiency of the police in the suppression of vice, the control or direction of real criminals was constantly shown all this time. In April, the Rev. Cortland Myers, pastor of the Baptist Temple in Brooklyn, was obliged to take up the cudgels against the police to stir them up and prevent gambling and crime from securing a foothold in the neighborhood of his church. He accused the police of inefficiency and said that gambling and vice were becoming prevalent in the district referred to. Deputy Commissioner Ebstein denied the

charges and endeavored to bring the reverend gentlemen into ridicule for having made them. Mr. Myers retorted by reading from his pulpit one Sunday morning a list of the various places in which his investigations had shown that bookmaking, other forms of gambling and vice flourished. Even in the face of these particulars, the police authorities denied the truth of the charges, and took no steps to remedy the conditions complained of. Three weeks later, the reverend gentleman was able to stand up in his pulpit and make the following statement:

"Three weeks ago I read from this platform a list of 25 pool rooms in this city, and declared the police were either blind or guilty in the face of the startling conditions, and that in either instance they were unfit for the trust and responsibility imposed upon them. The head of the Police Department was interviewed upon what I said, and he tried to laugh me out of court. The Inspector of Police had no other hiding place, so he adopted the same method. But I stand before the public to-day, with a bunch of indictments from the Grand Jury with the arrest of the alleged criminals and the unquestioned exposure of the police, and with more to follow, for the battle is to a finish."

Shortly after this, Deputy Commissioner Ebstein took refuge in a trip to Europe ostensibly for a rest and to inspect the Police Department of Berlin. This gave the Rev. Mr. Myers his opportunity to have a laugh on Ebstein. He said of him:

"He has proven himself unfit for the office he holds. If he is ignorant 'Shame.' If any other guilt attaches to his office 'twice shame.' What a minister or any other citizen can find out he can. He is overworked, according to reports, and is going to Europe for a rest. I have done his work for the last two months and have not received a cent of pay. I deserve at least that the vacation should come to me, and if he is going to Berlin to inspect the Police Department of that city, I could do it as well as he, perhaps better. The Inspector of Police made a boyish bluff and said that he would give a donation to my church if I would show him one pool room in Brooklyn. He did not say how much his donation was to be, but if it is measured by the size of his police ability, this church has no use for him. I have been asked why I did not give that list of pool rooms to the Police Department before making it public. We had given such a list to the Police Department once, and nothing was ever done with it."

In September Commissioner Greene appointed 315 new patrolmen. As Commissioner Greene is a Fusion-Odell-Low officer, and the Civil Service Commissioners are also allies of the Republican State Machine, it goes without saying that a large proportion of these appointees were non-residents of this city. The condition which resulted when this batch of new appointees were sent on post is thus described in a daily newspaper:

"NEW COPS BEWILDERED.

"Unable to Locate City Hall Park and Chatham Square."

"Some of the 315 new patrolmen appointed by Commissioner Greene yesterday are having a hard time learning the geographical construction of their new posts. In a certain precinct near the City Hall a sergeant turned some of the recruits out on post for the first time yesterday. One of them said hesitatingly that he didn't know where to go.

"Your post is near City Hall Park," directed the sergeant.

"Wh-where is City Hall Park?" stuttered the embarrassed policeman. Another caused astonishment on account of his ignorance of the location of Chatham Square.

"Much wonderment is expressed at this lack of geographical knowledge, as in the Civil Service ratings a percentage of 25 is allowed for 'city information.'"

ASPHALT GREENE MORALIZING.

In turning loose this batch of new policemen, Commissioner Greene presented certificates of appointment to them in the Sixty-ninth Regiment Armory, and also presented them with some gems of good advice. To do these countrymen credit, it must be said that they are intelligent newspaper readers, and seemed to be fully cognizant of their lecturers' unsavory connection with the Asphalt Trust. The edifying exercises in the armory are described by one who was present:

"While Greene eloquently pictured the trials and temptations that beset the New York policemen on all sides, he unfortunately made a little break which destroyed the effect of his words, and almost upset the strict discipline that the fledgling cops were displaying. 'I warn you most impressively, never to yield to temptation, and to repeatedly spurn it, in whatever shape or manner it may come to you, for sooner or later, you will be found out.'"

There were several half smothered snickers audible in the drill room, and several of the new policemen flushed an appoplectic red in their efforts to suppress an outburst of laughter. As for Greenes' moralization and the effect it had upon his raw recruits that afternoon it has been frequently described in station house section room, and it never fails to provoke unlimited mirth.

ASPHALT GREENE.

A Sample Brick in the Fusion Structure—Accused of Swindling Widows and Orphans—Get-Rich-Quick Methods.

Had a member of the uniformed police force been accused of the peculiar acts in connection with the wrecking of the Asphalt Trust, as General Greene, the "Fusion" Police Commissioner, has had charged up to him, he would have been instantly suspended by the Commissioner himself. By the exposures in the proceedings of the United States Court, at Trenton, before Judge Kirkpatrick, these acts can only be classed as a criminal conspiracy, cunningly devised.

It has been shown that the scheme had absorbed the trust funds of widows, orphans and innocent persons.

The spoliation was in progress for eighteen months. The men who promoted the Asphalt Trust with General Greene were regarded as citizens of solid respectability and social and financial prestige.

The Trust was formed under the obliging laws of New Jersey on July 6, 1899, with a capital authorized at \$30,000,000 in shares of \$50 each. It was designated in the articles of incorporation as The Asphalt Company of America.

In exchange for the securities of the properties acquired, there were issued \$30,000,000 five per cent. collateral gold trust certificates. The stock won confidence. Bankers and trust companies bought the certificates, and trustees of estates, guardians of widows and orphans, invested trust funds, paying from 90 to 97 per cent. of the face value.

In 1900, John M. Mack combined several independent companies, and he and a few associates, under the name of the National Asphalt Company, were "taken in" by the Trust. Some of the Mack plants were worth only a few thousands. Then the unassessed liability of \$40 a share on the American company was converted into National 5 per cent. bonds, of which \$6,000,000 were issued. When the market quotations of the bonds fell on November 14, 1901, the promoters announced that the intrinsic value of the securities was as first represented, but bonds which had been unloaded upon the public at 95 sold at 46. Before the end of December they had reached 27½. A "protective committee" of men of the highest standing was appointed to acquire all the bonds that it could.

The promoters agreed to pay \$2,250,000, and received the bonds and \$4,500,000 common stock of the newly-formed General Asphalt Company.

Preferred stock was issued to the defrauded bondholders at the ratio of 1 to 2, and the "collateral gold certificates"—selling them at 22—disappeared from sight.

Then Henry Tatnall was appointed Receiver of the Trust upon application of several persons who charged a combine to "freeze" them out. In the course of his investigation, the Receiver applied to Judge Kirkpatrick, of the United States Court, at Trenton, N. J., for an order, which was granted, directing him to proceed against General Francis Vinton Greene, Police Commissioner of New York; Amzi L. Barber, George W. Elkins, J. J. Albright, Edward Hayes, C. K. Robinson, E. B. Warren, W. L. Elkins, G. S. Wiedner, S. F. Tyler, W. J. Latta, W. H. Crocker and H. C. Spinks, to account for and pay over profits which they were alleged to have made in the organization of the Asphalt Company of America in connection with acquiring subsidiary companies.

It was estimated by the Receiver that after distributing all the moneys received, there would remain due and unpaid, without assets, more than \$27,759,000 by way of deficiency on the creditors' claims.

General Greene was the most active in the formation of the Trust, and his share of the profit upon the merging of the companies amounted to more than one million dollars.

Henry Tatnall, Receiver for the Trust, contends that the men who promoted the scheme privately bought large holdings of stock in the subsidiary companies at cheap prices, and then turned in their holdings to the big company at par, receiving therefor gold certificates to an amount thus scandalously excessive. He estimated the profits thus squeezed from the investors in the bonds to be \$4,000,000. Examples of this scheme follow:

Amzi L. Barber, father-in-law of General Greene; General Greene himself, and George W. Elkins bought up 13,325 shares each of stock in the United Asphalt Company, paying therefor in money and obligations, \$618,000. They transferred them to the Asphalt Company of America, receiving therefor gold certificates amounting to \$3,670,000. At the lowest market price during the month when the transfer was made, their profits were \$2,666,560.

GENERAL GREENE, Amzi L. Barber, Edmund Hayes, George D. Weidener, C. K. Robinson, G. W. Elkins and E. Burgess Warren bought 1,515 shares of the New Trinidad Lake Asphalt Company, Limited, at \$48.50 a share, and transferred it to the Asphalt Company of America at \$100 a share.

Greene, Barber and Elkins transferred 9,493 shares of the Warren-Scharf Asphalt Paving Company of America to the Asphalt Company of America at an estimated profit of \$539,696.

The official action taken by the receiver was mapped out along these lines. First, he brought suit against the promoters of the Asphalt Company of America. Second, he started proceedings against the registered holders of the company's stock, to recover the assessment liability of \$24,000,000. The Court advised, however, that this action be delayed until the first suit was settled. Thirdly, he is to proceed against John M. Marks and his associates to compel them to reimburse investors who lost money through the same kind of manipulation as the Greene-Barber group practiced.

The court records show that the Asphalt Company of America, paid in gold certificates for stock the following sums per share:

Atlantic Alcatraz Asphalt, \$1,000, par value \$100;
Southern Asphalt Company, \$1,020, par value \$100; Alcatraz Paving Company, \$500, par value \$50; Utica Paving Company, \$510, par value \$100; Barber Asphalt Paving Company, \$300, par value \$100; New Trinidad Lake Asphalt, \$100, par value \$48.50; Warren-Scharf Asphalt Company, \$240, par value \$100; Alcatraz Asphalt Company, \$160, par value \$100; Alcatraz Company of West

Virginia, \$6, par value \$5; Denver Paving Company, \$5, par value \$1; Alcatraz Construction Company, \$104, par value \$100.

As if expecting some such result as civil or criminal proceedings, the interested persons, it is charged, procured the passage of an act last Spring in the New Jersey Legislature, limiting the period during which promoters may be sued to recover unlawful profits to four years after the making of such profits. Consequently it became necessary for the Receiver to begin the suits on July 5, 1903. Under this new law the time limit on the asphalt promoters would have expired before the next term of court.

Mayor Low was asked when the scandal was exposed if he did not consider it his duty to suspend General Greene as Police Commissioner pending the trial of the suits. He replied:

"I have nothing to say."

When Corporation Counsel Rives was asked if the Mayor had power to remove or suspend General Greene, he merely said:

"I consider it impertinent to ask me such a question."

General Greene did not resign. He refused to discuss the subject, but said briefly:

"I feel confident that the decision will be against the Receiver, but if the courts determine otherwise and finally decide that I have injured any one, I must, of course, abide by the decision and make reparation to the utmost limit of my ability. When the Asphalt Company of America was formed I was guided by the advice of the best counsel I could obtain."

Which means, of course, that if he could get away with the profits and escape criminal prosecution he would do so, but that there was any moral reason why he should make restitution, he did not appear to recognize.

"Reparation" was the word he used instead of "restitution."

The Republican machine caused a law to be passed giving the Governor of the State power to remove a Commissioner of Police in New York. On this point the New York Sun said editorially on July 20, 1903:

"The real purpose of this provision has been defeated by the act of the Governor of this State. At the very time when the present Police Commissioner Greene, Mayor Low's appointee, is under charges, the gravity of which would, in the case of a member of the uniformed force, lead to his summary suspension, the Governor accompanies the accused Commissioner on a midsummer pleasure trip over the Great Lakes and across the continent!"

"What must be the effect upon the police force of the continued presence of General Greene," asked the Brooklyn Citizen on August 16, 1903, "with the revelation of his asphalt record brought prominent to the public view, at the head of the department? Is the protection of the morals of the community placed in the right hands when the chosen instrument of the administration is a man who confesses that there is a possibility that he committed a moral wrong in the formation of the Asphalt Trust, and that if the courts decide against him he is willing to make restitution to the full extent of his ability?"

Such is the official who is the recognized guardian of the property, character, peace and morals of the City of Greater New York.

New York City has had an experience with the Trust which was not only costly in a financial sense, but dangerous to health in the shameful condition of its streets and asphalt pavements which needed repairing. It was alleged many times that contractors refused to repair the damage and wear and tear, as they knew that the influence of General Greene would support them as customers of the Asphalt Trust.

Vote against Republicanism masked as non-partisanship.

MAGISTRATE HOGAN ON POLICE BLACKMAIL

"Fusion" Graft Exposed—The Low-Greene Administration Covers Up Corruption in the Police Department—Who Is the Fusion John Doe?

In urging its claims for the election of Low and his associates two years ago, the Fusionists repeatedly assailed the condition of the Police Department, as managed by the Democratic administration then in power, and alleged on every available occasion that crime was allowed to flourish in its most obnoxious forms, that extortion, blackmail and numerous other kinds of corruption existed among and were protected by policemen, and that the revenue received from these nefarious practices was shared in, not only by those in subordinate position in the department, but also by those "higher-up," who (it was admitted), could not be traced by name, but whom for convenience they called "John Doe." This condition and these practices they promised to stamp out. When, therefore, they were successful at the polls in November, it was expected that great results would flow from their efforts in this, if in no other, direction. From the lowest to the highest member of the force all kinds of vice, it was supposed, would be eliminated.

Two years have almost passed since that party of great promises took office, and what is the result? Have they made good their word as respects the Police Department? Have they turned it into the place of purity they claimed it could be made? It is the general opinion that they have not. It is also the fact. Those were hypocritical promises they made for campaign purposes, which they never had any intention of carrying out, irrespective of the question of their being able to do so.

Under the "Fusion" administration some policemen, some captains and some sergeants have been levying and collecting money from persons violating the law as the price of allowing them to do so.

That some police officials also did this under other administrations cannot be denied. Several instances follow, the continuance of such practices from the commencement of the Low regime.

But the peculiarities of "Reform" reasoning result in quite a different treatment on the subject now. Instead of treating the disclosures of these conditions as a reflection upon the "Fusion" administration and as leading up to a "Fusion" John Doe, Mayor Low and Commissioner Greene, take refuge in efforts to suppress the facts and in denials that no one believes. Magistrate Hogan, Magistrate Ommen, and others who have the public spirit and the courage to attack the "Fusion" system of graft are reviled, accused of partisanship and made the objects of unprincipled and unscrupulous attempts to bring them into discredit.

THE WEINBERG-SOLLISH OUTRAGE.

At No. 247 West Thirty-ninth street a disorderly house had been running for some time previous to June 23, 1903, unmolested by the police; but on the evening of that day at the request of one Weinberg and a young girl named Julia Sollish, who claimed that her sister was an inmate of that house, Officers Zimmerman and O'Rourke were detailed by Sergeant Nash, of the West Thirty-seventh Street Station, to go with them to that address.

When they arrived there the officers went inside, telling Weinberg and the young girl to wait for them. The officers returned in a few minutes and had the young man and girl go in with them. Upon being admitted Weinberg and his companion were told that her sister was not there, in which the officers seemed to acquiesce; but as Weinberg and his

companion insisted that she was there she was at last produced. Then Weinberg was asked to go to the Pennsylvania Hotel, at Thirty-sixth or Thirty-seventh street, for Captain Ferris, of the West Thirty-seventh Street Station, which he did without success, and returned to the house to find the captain mysteriously there.

The proprietress of the house, Minnie Lewis, and the other inmates thereof, including the young girl's sister, were then taken to the West Thirty-seventh Street Station House, where they gave bail. Weinberg was, however, sent to a cell, on a ridiculous charge of disorderly conduct instigated by the real offenders.

The bail given for two of the inmates and accepted at that time was executed by Minnie Lewis, the proprietress of that disorderly house as surety under the name of Millie Pelta. She gave the disorderly house as security, claiming she owned it, when in fact it was owned jointly by herself and husband.

If Officers O'Rourke and Zimmerman were entirely honest and above board, and had no relations with the proprietress of the West Thirty-ninth street house of which they were ashamed or which they did not wish to be scrutinized, why did they not allow Weinberg and his companion to enter when they did and not cause them to remain outside? The answer to this question is not hard to read by any one desiring the truth.

THE POLICE MOTIVE PLAIN.

If Captain Ferris was not in some way unpleasantly connected with that house, why did he so mysteriously appear upon the scene; and having arrested the inmates, why did he and Sergeant Nash accept bail bonds from Minnie Lewis under an assumed name if there was not corruption on their part and complicity with her? This same captain on trial before Commissioner Ebstein on the 21st, testified that according to an opinion of Corporation Counsel Rives, he had nothing else to do but accept the bonds when offered. But aside from the assinity of the Corporation Counsel's opinion (if he has handed down such a one), there is the salient fact of the woman giving two different names, which, had the captain and sergeant been disinterested and entirely free from any imputation of blame, would have caused them to have rejected bail bonds so given.

If not expressly, then impliedly but indubitably and most convincingly, it is shown by the above facts that the Thirty-ninth street house was one protected by the captain, the sergeant and the policemen of the West Thirty-seventh Street Precinct.

THE CONIZIO CASE.

On June 13, 1903, Salvatorie Conizio, who had a fruit store at No. 34 Spring street, sent his niece, Annunciato Concalva, upstairs to his apartments to get a towel to wipe off his fruit. At the moment she started upstairs, two officers, Richard and Wiegold, appeared in the store, and accused him of selling one-half gallon of wine to this girl in violation of the Excise law. While the girl was on her way upstairs, she was followed by Richard, while Wiegold remained in the store with Conizio; but Wiegold and Conizio followed them upstairs after a few minutes.

The officers went in Conizio's apartments and took a half-gallon demijohn of wine from under his bed. Both officers struck Conizio and his wife severely at that time. They took Conizio to the station house. The next day he was arraigned before Magistrate Hogan, but, upon being tried, was dismissed.

It may safely be said that Wiegold and Richard did not institute this proceeding against the Italian through pursuit of duty; for previous to the day of the arrest Wiegold, while accompanied by Richard, told this man if he would pay them \$10 he might sell his wine without fear of the Excise law, and Conizio refused to make any such payment. It therefore appears that after having tried to make him pay without force.

they resorted to legal proceedings for this purpose, expecting that he would prefer this to going to the trouble and expense of defending such a case. They could not have expected to have had him held on such flimsy evidence as above, and it may be safely said they did not.

The officers had no right to enter his house, and were without authority to search his place. Nor should they have arrested him for sending wine to his apartment for family use, admitting he did so.

This was a plain case of "graft."

A HANDBOOK HOLD-UP.

Robert E. Ullner and John E. Gallegan, two officers stationed at the First Precinct, appeared before Magistrate Hogan with a man charged with making a handbook for a bet of \$5; but upon being tried the prisoner was discharged for insufficiency of evidence.

This was a plain "hold-up" case. These officers had arrested this man expecting he would pay them to release him. They knew they had no evidence against him. Additional force is given to this statement when it is recalled that Ullner is a lawyer.

Furthermore, it may be stated in corroboration of the truth of this statement that these same officers bragged in court that women they arrested went to jail or went free, as they wished. In other words, if they were paid by those they arrested, they did not press the charge.

These same officers, Ullner and Gallegan, figured in a disorderly house case in which they failed to produce sufficient evidence to convict and which was another case of "hold-up." The hotel was in Whitehall street. In this case it appeared that Ullner and Gallegan had made up between them, as they said, that if an unfortunate woman solicited them, the one solicited was to go to a hotel with her, and if the same woman solicited the other officer he was also to go to a hotel with her. Both officers testified in court that they were solicited by the woman in the Whitehall street case; that they had known her on the Battery as a prostitute; that they had gone to a hotel with her on the Bowery as a prostitute some time before; and yet they went to a hotel with her in this instance and registered as man and wife to get evidence against her. The Magistrate asked them in court if it was not a plain case of "hold-up;" and they would not reply. Their silence in this regard needs no comment.

But this is not the only instance in which Ullner figured to his disadvantage.

He became intimate with an unfortunate woman. She had a quarrel with another of her kind, and wishing to be revenged had Ullner arrest her. After the arrest, and her release, Ullner wrote a letter to her and signed Captain Schmittberger's name to it. Upon receipt of it, she took it to the captain; but he did nothing about it, did not report it nor have charges preferred against Ullner, as he should have done had he performed his duty.

QUESTIONABLE ATTITUDE OF SUPERIORS.

But charges of impropriety and unconscionable practice in official positions are not confined to the subordinate officers of the department. The conduct of those "higher-up," to be hereafter stated and commented upon, shows unmistakably that the house is not clean in this direction either. In making such statements and comments those "higher-up" will not be styled "John Doe." The Democratic party in making charges does not deal in generalities, as do the Fusionists, but in plain facts that can be sustained.

Edward Hogan, Judge of the City Magistrates' Court, spoke to a reporter of the New York Sun on August 13, and told him about the cases of the policemen heretofore mentioned, and stated that the system of "graft" and "hold-ups" in the Police Department was greater than ever before. This interview appeared in the Sun of that date. Upon the same day Commissioner Greene wrote a letter to the Magistrate in which he asked him for the facts in regard to the cases mentioned in that interview as it appeared in the Sun. The Judge replied to this letter on the 14th and referred the Commissioner to the courts in which the records of these cases were. Thereupon the Commissioner referred the whole matter to his Third Deputy Gherardi

Davis, who instituted an investigation of the matter and took a mass of evidence about it. This evidence he transmitted with his report to the Commissioner.

The Deputy's method of taking testimony in the matter was most high-handed.. The questions put to the policemen who were before him were so framed as to fore-shadow what their answer should be. They were beyond cavil leading ones. If his object in doing this was not to whitewash or suppress facts (which seems to be a "Fusion" trick), it is difficult to understand what it was, unless he was guilty of complicity in the matter.

His conduct was especially reprehensible when it is remembered that he is himself a lawyer and presumed to know the proper method of bringing out facts upon examination. In his report to the Commissioner he gives his indorsement to the manner of getting evidence against unfortunate women by two officers going to a hotel with the same woman on the same night. This is certainly a depraved way of obtaining evidence; and such policemen as pursue it cannot and ought not to be upheld, and the person upholding him takes a place in the same category with him. Yet this same Deputy upholds the Officers Ullner and Gallegan in just such procedure. It would not seem unjustifiable, therefore, to attribute the Deputy's zeal in trying to clear these officers of any blame more to personal reasons than to a wish to maintain the integrity of the department by withholding or whitewashing the facts. But either view of the case does not redound to the Deputy's credit. Nor is the position of the Commissioner himself an enviable one; for upon the report of his Deputy being received he wrote Judge Hogan a letter approving it, bearing date August 18, 1903, and inclosed a copy of the report to the Magistrate in that letter as well as a copy of the testimony taken by the Deputy.

In his letter to the Magistrate of the 18th the Commissioner asks if he is not satisfied from a perusal of the report and testimony that he was mistaken in his charges and if he will not withdraw them, saying if he will not, he will immediately place all the officers accused on trial, when they will be convicted or acquitted. The Magistrate on Aug. 25 wrote the Commissioner a letter in which he stated he was not satisfied with the investigation and called attention to the fact that the evidence taken in the several cases in point before him as a Magistrate still stood, not having been appealed from or reversed. The Commissioner thereupon placed these officers on trial. An examination of these proceedings will show that they are characterized by the same zeal to uphold the officers by hiding the facts as was the previous investigation before the Deputy. While the Commissioner and his deputies evinced a desire that the Magistrate should be present when the examination was going on, he has at least once started the examination at an earlier date than had been expressly agreed upon with the Magistrate, showing that there was a strong feeling that the interests of "Fusion" in the department could be best served by making the investigation a family affair and not one in open court.

FUSION HYPOCRISY AGAIN.

In making charges against the department in the last campaign, at which time it was under Democratic control, the Fusionists stated that they did so for purely patriotic considerations as well as from civic pride in seeing that it was properly conducted; and yet when a gentleman of standing, but (from the "Fusion" standpoint) unfortunately a Democrat, makes identical charges against it when under "Fusion" control, except that these charges are nearer to the ground and deal in facts and not generalities, it is called a Democratic trick. A specific instance of this is shown in Commissioner Greene's letter of the 18th of August to the Magistrate, in which he says: "I am bound to assume that your sole object in this matter is to punish members of the police force who are guilty of blackmail, 'hold-ups' or extortion of any other form."

As further emphasizing the statement that all is not as it should be "higher-up," attention might and should be called to the punishment meted out by the Commissioners and his deputies to offending members

of the force. The case of Captain Ferris, who has been heretofore referred to in connection with the Sollish case, will illustrate this. He was up on the charge of permitting the house in Thirty-ninth street, in which the Sollish girl was found, to run unmolested, and upon other charges of dereliction of duty; and upon being tried, although found guilty of each of the offenses charged, was fined but two days' pay. This, to say the least about it, is certainly not conducting the affairs of the department to the best interests of the community; and a darker view is necessarily taken of the circumstances when it is considered that in the past officers similarly charged and found guilty have been dismissed from the force.

As showing the manner of man the Third Deputy Commissioner, Gherardi Davis is, an incident which occurred at Police Headquarters a short time ago is important. A sergeant was summoned before the Deputy and told that he would have him fined about 50 days' pay and suspended for some thirty days for a small offense of which the sergeant was entirely innocent and could so prove himself. The sergeant told him to go ahead and prefer charges as soon as he wished. While they were talking together the sergeant saw on the lapel of Davis' coat a button of the Sons of the Revolution, of which he was himself a member; and thereupon he took from his vest the button that he wore and threw it on the floor. Davis asked him what he was doing, and he told him. When he told the Deputy that he, too, was a member of that order, but in the future would not be, in view of the Deputy's membership, that gentleman became very tractable and apologetic. It is thus seen that this deputy is actuated rather by social considerations in disposing of cases than by justice. It might be added that Davis never preferred or caused any charges to be made against this sergeant.

PRAYER OF THE REPUBLICANS.

"You must save the city for us,"
 Cried Republicans to Low;
 "Don't forget next year we'll need it,
 Or poor Teddy he'll eat crow.
 So Tom and Ben and Chauncey, too,
 United must be now;
 Every mother's son together,
 Join in the great Pow-Wow.
 Say you're Fusion, Cit, or Goo-Goo,
 It don't matter what you think;
 But prevent the votes from slipping,
 Or we all will surely sink.
 Don't speak of the post office,
 Or the grafters in our ranks,
 Humbug is the capital
 In our bluff and promise banks.
 We have Teddy really with us,
 And he'll stand for all our acts;
 Leave him to do the shouting,
 And keep away from stating facts."

Vote for Honest Democratic Administration in touch with the
 wants of the people.

LOW AND PERSONAL LIBERTY.

Law-Abiding, Moral Citizens Arrayed Against Mayor Low for His Alliance with the Party of Intolerance—Natives and Foreign-Born Citizens Agree.

Mayor Low and his "Fusion" administration have lost ground more disastrously in the direction of what is sometimes known as the German vote than in any other. This fact is so apparent to him and to the managers of the Boss Cutting campaign that the Mayor has been moved to an utterance in which he again reverses himself on the important question of personal liberty. This question is not interesting in this campaign solely from the standpoint of the Germans. There are large numbers of citizens foreign born or of foreign descent, but of other nationalities than German who are thoroughly imbued by tradition with the spirit of personal liberty which the Germans are so devoted to.

They do not recognize the right of a narrow, illiberal and intolerant Republican majority in the interior of the State to impose the limitations necessary in those communities upon the cosmopolitan people of this great city.

They resent the open alliance which Mayor Low has made with the representatives of that intolerant spirit, and the fact that he allowed Governor Odell, the head of the Republican State machine, to dictate the appointment of Police Commissioner Greene, for the apparent purpose of harrying them and carrying out certain political schemes.

"SUNDAY BEER."

They also very bitterly resent the attitude of the "Fusion" press and the "Fusion" orators in holding up to derision these views that they hold. Instead of receiving the credit that belongs to them as thinking, law-abiding, substantial citizens, with their own views of right and wrong, under which they certainly have a very high standard of morality, they are constantly pictured as an almost irresponsible body swayed and controlled by no higher consideration than the prospect of securing or losing their "Sunday beer."

Mayor Low has recently been aroused to the dangers of the situation from a political standpoint; hence the reversal alluded to. Chairman Henry Weisman, of the German-American Municipal League of Brooklyn, is the reporter who gave publicity to the language of the Mayor's latest flop on the subject. Here are the words:

"It is impossible to carry out reforms that make the record complete in a two-year term. This is particularly true of the excise question. The great mission of General Greene was to abolish blackmail in the Police Department. In order to accomplish this result he had to enforce the law. When his mission is completed it will be possible to permit a liberal construction of the excise law."

THE MAYOR'S PALTERING POSITION.

Though this is a very guarded statement, it is sufficiently liberal to displease the other element of the "Fusion" party, which Mayor Low caters to when he supports Commissioner Greene's raids and oppressions. It is, however, hardly strong enough to make much impression upon the feeling of dissatisfaction already alluded to. The great mass of the Germans and other foreigners, together with the liberal-minded people of native birth, recall Mayor Low's utterances in the campaign of two years ago. He thoroughly committed himself then to the doctrine that "the extreme of the law is the extreme of injustice," and



OPPRESSION AND PLUNDER.

said in so many words that the Fusion administration, if he was elected, would not mean a blue-law administration. The disappointment in the results which followed this quite definite statement was very great. It is not to be expected that any better results or greater satisfaction will follow the cautious campaign declaration now made by Mayor Low, that some time "it will be possible to permit a liberal construction of the excise law."

The Mr. Weisman who retailed this report of the Mayor's position is alleged to have informed the Mayor that the declaration would be sufficient and satisfactory as he reported it. In this he is entirely at variance with Mr. Otto Streitz, chairman of the German-American League Campaign Committee, who said:

"The sentiment of the German people is entirely against Mayor Low.

I wonder where Mr. Weisman got the information that it would be otherwise? He certainly didn't get it in the Third District (Brooklyn). We went among the people in that district and they didn't know him; yet that is his own district. Take a vote in any society in South Brooklyn or in Williamsburg, and I will guarantee that it will be against Low."

President Tokaji supplemented this by saying:

"Mr. Weisman pretends to be a leader of the German-Americans in Brooklyn. How in the world can he be such a leader when his organization is purely and simply a Republican organization? That is all it is. Our organization is composed of independent Democrats and independent Republicans. We will not stand for Low."

THE PEOPLE'S POSITION DEFINED.

Another prominent German expresses the opinion that Mr. Weisman would have his hands full in the endeavor to keep even his association of Republican Germans in hand. He adds that under no circumstances should the Germans as a body support a party which does not listen to the just demands of liberal-minded citizens.

The Germans are asking for no special privileges, but they are of the same opinion as other liberal-minded men, namely, that the Sunday laws made by the up-State legislators should not be applied in the same spirit to the inhabitants of a cosmopolitan city like New York as to the farmers in a small village in the country.

This important feature of the campaign is receiving the serious attention of the New York Herald, in which, on September 21, 1903, the following information was printed:

The Herald has accurately portrayed the feeling prevailing to-day among the voters of German birth and descent who have, so many times, swung this city from Tammany to reform and back again. With a view to arriving at an intelligent idea of how the voters of the city, of German birth or descent, will vote at the approaching municipal election, the Herald has had careful and systematic inquiries made by a German journalist of experience, who was under instructions to give the result without bias. He has done so in the following article. It shows, briefly, that Mayor Low, to win, must recover an apparent indicated loss of 25 per cent. of the German vote, which is placed at 125,000 in the entire city, or make it up in some other way. He had 75 per cent. of this vote in 1901. He will probably get only 50 per cent. of it now. The percentage lost is 31,250, or just about what his majority was when he beat Edward M. Shepard. The conclusions of the Herald investigator follow:

Two years ago the German vote, so called, which again is classed as a deciding factor in the coming municipal campaign, aided materially in the success of the Fusion ticket. Fully 75 per cent. of the 125,000 German voters cast their votes for Mr. Low and his associates. It will require considerable effort this year, as matters stand on the eve of the campaign, to obtain for the same candidate 50 per cent.—that is, to split the German vote.

They talk about personal liberty and claim that Mr. Low has broken his ante-election promise to interpret liberally the Sunday laws. They also call him an aristocrat, surrounded by men who do not understand the cosmopolitan character of New York's population.

They find fault with him for not having given the Germans representation in the administration, and say he has not found it necessary to acquaint himself with their wants and requests. They say that they have never been able to gain his ear when they had grievances to present. Some, also, are inclined to hold the Fusion administration responsible for the fancied curtailing of the teaching of the German language in the public schools, but the paramount question with them is the interference with what they call personal liberty, eagerly separating that from the beer question. The latter is one which only interests the liquor element; the former concerns all who belong to societies—and what German does not?—and who are in the habit of holding their entertainments on Sunday.

Careful estimates, based on statistics, place this vote as one-fifth of the entire voting population. This estimate does not include American-born citizens who affiliate with German societies and who still speak the language of their parents. It does, however, include the Swiss, the Austrians from the German provinces and those Russians who come from the German provinces of the Tsar. The German districts in Manhattan and the Bronx are all on the east side along the elevated roads; in Brooklyn they are in Williamsburg; East New York, Bushwick; in Queens they are in College Point, Astoria, Steinway, Flushing, Glendale, Maspeth, Middle Village, Ridgewood, while in Richmond they are scattered. It is in these districts, normally democratic with a few exceptions that the defection is noticeable.

It is the storekeeper, the tradesman, the mechanic and the laborer.

As against the business man "down town," who indorses the Low administration and wants no other.

One of Brooklyn's business men, who is to-day for Low's re-election, caused to be made a canvass among his German friends and neighbors prior to the conference of the Fusion elements which settled on Low as the candidate. He told the Herald representative that the best they could hope for in Brooklyn, provided an able campaign be made, is one-half of the German vote, which means a defection of 25 per cent. in that borough alone, and that borough contributed more than 20,000 of the 30,000 majority which made Seth Low, Mayor.

"It is the old story," he said. "The Germans have got it in their heads that their personal liberty is threatened, that respectable societies and respectable saloon keepers are treated worse than those whose dives are the source of crime."

To understand this feeling, one has to go back to the beginning of the present year, when several society entertainments were interfered with. The indignation at that time ran high, and the attitude of the administration was condemned in strong terms.

SOME SPECIFIED CASES.

On January 5, the Union Helvetia had arranged a ball for the benefit of its ill members, in Lyric Hall. In the evening, when 500 persons were assembled, Captain Miles O'Reilly forbade the entertainment, and a protest meeting was held.

On March 8, 1903, the New York Turn Verein gave an entertainment in its club-house, Eighty-fifth street and Lexington avenue, when suddenly Captain Hogan, of the East Eighty-eighth street station, appeared and ordered it stopped.

There were a thousand people, women and children, in the hall.

A Sunday entertainment at the Irving Place Theatre was interfered with; another one on March 15 at Terrace Garden, where a singing society gave an entertainment, and at a similar affair of the Harlem Society.

Just about the same time, the Germans became agitated over the changes which were planned in the course of studies in the schools. They assert that they had definite promises and that these were broken. They appealed to Mayor Low. On behalf of the United German societies, which comprise 150 clubs, lodges, singing and turn vereins, with a membership of 30,000, Dr. H. A. C. Anderson, the president, presented a memorial to the Mayor, who promised to consider the question, but has given no intimation up to the present that he has done so.

Dr. Anderson, who is also at the head of the Central Turn Verein, one of the most influential social clubs of Germans, talked freely at his home, No. 118 East Eighty-sixth street. He said:

"I come daily in contact with all kinds of Germans, and I find that the slight attention which Mr. Low gave to one question of interest to the Germans, will cost him many votes. I do not believe that the opposition to the present administration emanates from any political causes."

THE LAY OF WOODBURY.

One Major Woodbury—John McGaw,
He's Street Commissioner by law,
Has done some very remarkable things,
With his brigade of pure white wings.

He boasts of his efficiency,
Which all the people fail to see;
They note the filthy streets and say:
"Why don't you clear the dirt away?"

He wanted a stable for his gee-gees,
And "Fusion" agreed the Major to please.
It's a French chateau with an asphalt floor,
And cost half a million or more.

Vote for Honest Democratic City Government in touch with the wants of the people.

Low Stands by Lindenthal.

When danger threatened human life,
Though Mayor Low had said,
He'd banish death traps at the Bridge,
And murder in its shed,
He stood by Lindenthal.

As the days and weeks and months rolled by,
No effort once was made,
By Low to end the agony,
He merely smirked and said,
"I'll stand by Lindenthal."

Two years have come and gone since then,
And death and terror cling;
Seth Low cares not what suffering
His fads and follies bring;
He stands by Lindenthal.

For aid given at election time
The railroads named their man
To make all plans of bridges,
Which o'er our rivers span;
And they chose Lindenthal.



TRYING TO BREAK IN

THE "FUSION" BRIDGE COMMISSIONER.

"Eye Bar" and Loop the Loop Lindenthal—The Funny Way a Funny Man Treats a Serious Problem.

Gustav Lindenthal, Bridge Commissioner, furnishes a striking example of Mayor Low's persistency in backing his appointees in the face of popular disappointment and disapproval.

"Eye Bar" Lindenthal is the title by which the Bridge Commissioner is popularly known and his motto is "I Bar anything that I did not design or which my friends and former associates cannot build and make money out of." It does not matter to the "Eye Bar" Commissioner that new bridges are delayed for years and the congested conditions of the old one continue indefinitely, a menace to the public safety and an outrage on decency.

"Eye Bar" Lindenthal has distinguished his administration by subordinating all the engineering and technical ability of the department to its "Eye Bar" head. Samuel R. Probasco, Chief Engineer at \$10,000 a year, was made an assistant at \$5,000. C. C. Martin, Chief Engineer in charge of the Brooklyn Bridge, at \$8,000, was made Consulting Engineer at \$6,000. R. S. Buck, Chief Engineer of the Manhattan Bridge, resigned rather than become a party to "Eye Bar" Lindenthal's plan to waste time and money in its construction. Leffert L. Buck, Chief Engineer of the Williamsburg Bridge, at \$10,000 a year, was made Consulting Engineer at \$7,500. O. F. Nichols, Assistant Engineer on this work, was reduced from \$7,500 to \$6,000, and afterward dismissed because he dared to appear at the Aldermanic Committee hearing in opposition to "Eye Bar" Lindenthal's plans.

These changes were dictated solely by the desire to centralize all engineering authority in the autocratic "Eye Bar." The sufferers were not Tammany men. That would excuse any outrage upon them in the eyes of "Fusion" politicians. But this explanation will not fit the cases of appointees of former Brooklyn administrations or that of L. L. Buck, who was appointed by the Commissioners of Mayor Strong and Mayor Schieren. Nor was the usual "Fusion" pretence of economy resorted to as explaining the changes. Even "Eye Bar's" assurance was not equal to making such a claim in view of the fact that he was at the same time greatly increasing expenses by

disbursing some \$63,000 to friends and favorites for the Hornbostel plans to beautify the bridge architecturally. In these expenditures for plans he also violated the law on the lines followed by Fire Commissioner Sturgis, in neglecting to advertise for competitive bids.

INGENIOUS INCOMPETENCY.

Mayor Low's Bridge Commissioner's serious business in these directions was interspersed with a comedy element. In fact that element was the most conspicuous at the time. Now we wonder whether the antics which then seemed only fatuous folly were not well studied efforts to distract attention from the Commissioner's real purpose of taking good care of "Eye Bar" and his favorites. At any rate these antics resulted in much merry making and in that way, and that way only, they were some relief to the distressed public suffering from the conditions at the Brooklyn Bridge.

The Commissioner's facility in devising what he called relief plans made him known at this juncture as "A Plan a Day Lindenthal." Though epigrammatic, this did him scant justice, as on some days he evolved two or three plans. It is but just to add that two of the Linden-

that plans had actual merit. If carried out, either of them would have effectually relieved the Bridge crush.

One of the excellent plans he proposed was to have about half of the regular users of the Bridge take to the ferries instead.

Unfortunately, the hundred thousand or so of people for whose benefit this suggestion was evolved, continued to consult their own convenience and did not seize the opportunity to help the fussy Fusion Commissioner out of his troubles. The other equally meritorious plan was to have the working people, the clerks and the business men, all take more heed as to the time of their comings and goings, and not all try to cross the Bridge at the same hour. Somehow, nothing came of this suggestion, though it is undeniable that only good results would have followed if it was carried out.

Multipled loops, moving platforms, fourteen million dollar terminal changes, and even flying machines, were among the devices credited to the ingenious Lindenthal to relieve the terrible conditions suffered at the Park Row end of the Bridge, but the fact remains, that after more than eighteen months in office the "Reform" Commissioner, instead of being able to show any improvement in his department, has to try to explain and excuse constantly increasing evils and difficulties.

And Mayor Low stands for him and stands by him both in his exhibitions of incapacity and in his indications of what are worse, purposes to make the new Manhattan Bridge cost three to five million dollars more than it ought to, to take three years longer to build than it should take and to be only about half as strong and safe as it could be.

Even Mayor Low's all-pervading charity for his blundering officials will hardly be able to ascribe a good motive for such a course in such a cause. It is doubly suspicious when considered with "Eye Bar" Lindenthal's past relations with the P. R. R. and the American Bridge Company.

A "FUSION" CAMPAIGN OUTRAGE.

It should not be forgotten that in the "Fusion" campaign two years ago, for political effect, an attack was made upon the Bridge management which spread an unfounded and unwarranted feeling of doubt as to the safety of the structure, with the result of causing needless worry and distress to thousands of men, women and children for many weeks. No more dastardly piece of dirty politics was ever resorted to, even in the name of "Reform." Of course there was no doubt then of the strength of the Bridge as there is no doubt to-day, and nothing has been done to it in the meantime that was not always done.

LINDENTHAL RIDICULED BY "FUSION" PRESS.

To show that there is no suspicion of partisan prejudice in these statements and in the assertion that there are more than signs of "graft" in "Eye Bar" Lindenthal's obvious efforts to favor the company he formerly worked for, the following extracts from good Republican-Fusion sources are convincing:

NEW YORK TRIBUNE, May 21, 1902:

"It really does seem to be about time for Mr. Lindenthal to stop this bewildering output of new schemes for Bridge relief. We would hesitate to say how many new plans have been officially broached since the beginning of the year, but certainly their name is legion. There have been few days without one and there have been some days with each more than one. Some of them have been fantastic. In such a multiplicity of schemes, and paucity of relief the public has been partly amused, partly bewildered and, we are afraid, chiefly disgusted."

NEW YORK TIMES, February 9, 1902:

"If Bridge Commissioner Lindenthal is correctly quoted as saying that with the rejection of his plan of relieving the Bridge by a system of transfers he is "through" and that for the next twenty months or so the disgraceful scenes at the New York terminal must be submitted to, he cannot better

employ his time than in reconsidering his conclusion and weighing his official duty against his professional preference."

NEW YORK TIMES, March 3, 1902:

"Mr. Lindenthal's latest plan of shaping his official opinion by taking a popular vote designed to show what the people who use the Bridge want done was doubtless not intended as a contribution to the gayety of nations. But though it may make the unskillful laugh, it cannot but make the judicious grieve."

NEW YORK TIMES, March 3, 1903:

"We are sorry to say that the plan of Bridge relief to which Commissioner Lindenthal committed himself in his communication to the public on Monday will be a disappointment to most of those who take the trouble to examine it critically."

HELPLESS LINDENTHAL.

NEW YORK TIMES, June 15, 1903:

"Commissioner Lindenthal has no ground for complaint if his apparent indifference to the conditions which have so long existed at the New York terminal of the Brooklyn Bridge have created the popular impression that he is unequal to the responsibilities of his position. As a correspondent of the Times says very forcibly: 'The people have a right to look to some one—and if not the Bridge Commissioner, whom?—to do the aggressive work necessary for immediate relief in the reachable evils. To any one who saw the outrageous conditions on Saturday, mob law seemed the logical outcome. Orderly mobs of the same sort may yet be running trains and operating switches if a stronger hand than the present one does not quickly evolve plans for relieving the situation.'"

The Brooklyn Times, a Republican-Fusion organ, asked the "Eye Bar" Commissioner these questions July 13, 1903, and still awaits a reply:

"Why were the original plans cast aside, causing expense and delay?"

"Why did Commissioner Lindenthal practically stop the work after one of the tower foundation contracts had been let?"

"Why were eye bar cables substituted for wire cables when prominent engineers declare that they will increase the cost of the bridge and may only be manufactured by one company?"

"Why were two engineers in the employ of a prospective bidder permitted to have a hand in drawing the steel specifications?"

"Why was an officer of a company, which may bid on the contract, appointed on the Commission which made a favorable report on the plans to the Mayor?"

"Why was an architect appointed, without public competition, and given every opportunity to make more than \$25,000 on this bridge alone?"

"Why should the public accept the word of Gustav Lindenthal in defiance of the judgment of engineers of standing?"

William Hildenbrand, an acknowledged engineering authority, made an enlightening communication to Mayor Low on the subject, which was, of course, ignored by that complacently self-sufficient official who thenceforth proceeded to back up Lindenthal and to fight with him against the Aldermen of both parties who had looked upon the question intelligently.

In this communication, Mr. Hildenbrand says:

"Plans for the Manhattan Bridge were first started by the Van Wyck administration in 1899. When completed by the then Chief Engineer R. S. Buck they were approved by Bridge Commissioner Shea, passed by the Board of Apportionment and the Board of Aldermen, an appropriation made for the foundations and work begun on the foundation on the Brooklyn side of the East River.

"Had the work been permitted to continue when Bridge Commissioner Lindenthal took office both foundations would be completed, both towers would be nearing completion and cable making would begin in the Fall. Allowing after that as much time as at the Williamsburg Bridge, the Manhattan Bridge would surely have been open for traffic at the close of 1905."

Concerning the stoppage of the work and the substitution of the plans for eye bar cables, with the accompanying delay of years and additional cost of millions, Mr. Hildenbrand says:

"Having stopped the bridge work the new Commissioner began to work for Mr. Lindenthal's future. That gentleman took out, some years ago, a patent on a chain for suspending bridges composed of wire links, that is, eye bars bound with wire. So a wire-link bridge this bridge must be."

With what virtuous horror Mayor Low and the other Pharisees of Fusion would cry out against such conduct in office if resorted to by any one outside of their self-righteous circle.

Democracy is the hope of the people and the only agency of real reform.

"FUSION'S" HEALTH DEPARTMENT.

Dr. Lederle Extolled on False Premises—The Favor of Providence Charged to Officials—Death Rate Fakes—Mendacity and Misrepresentation—Dr. Parkhurst Pushes Along a Lie Multiplied by One Hundred.

Ernst J. Lederle, Ph. D., the "Fusion" Commissioner of the Department of Health, was a subordinate in that department when Mayor Low appointed him to be its executive head. His record was not one of conspicuous efficiency and he had several times narrowly escaped dismissal for neglect of the duties of his position. As Commissioner, however, he has come into the heritage of fulsome praise that the Citizens' Union accords to all officials of the "Fusion" stripe. On his behalf the policy of claiming credit for everything that can be imagined has been worked to its fullest extent. Indeed, it has been more overworked than is usual, even in that mendacious policy.

Commissioner Lederle has, however, been lauded with more zeal than discretion. In claiming credit for him, based upon the results of combinations of weather and other causes due to no mortal efforts, his too partial commendation discounts belief in anything else that is urged in his favor. The most noteworthy instance in connection with this extravagant praise is found in the assertion that his administration caused a marked reduction in the city's death rate.

Unfortunately for this contention, though, the facts of record show that the lessened mortality is directly traceable to natural causes.

The effrontery of trying to twist statistics and facts into the semblance of support to such a preposterous conclusion and to partisan political advantage is distinctly an attribute of "Fusion" and "Reform."

The records disclose the real situation so plainly that one wonders at the assurance of those who attempt to misrepresent them in the cause of "Fusion" politics.

HOW THE DEATH RATE WAS REDUCED.

Bearing on the death rate, the following are the chief factors to be considered:

	1901.	1902
Estimated population.....	3,536,517	3,632,501
Death rate.....	20.00	18.75
Deaths in June, July, August and September	24,943	22,757
Deaths of children under two years in June, July, August and September.	4,949	3,781
Deaths from sunstroke in June, July, August and September.....	1,273	36
Deaths from influenza.....	856	157
Deaths from old age.....	1,231	969
Suicides	701	770

The reports of the Register of Records (annual report of the Board of Health, 1901, pp. 58 and 59), says "that 1872, 1892, 1896 and 1901 were the hottest and deadliest Summers in the experience of the department," and that "upon a single day, July 2, 1901, 553 deaths occurred, this number being far and above any previous record, and looking at the temperature upon that and the previous day, we find that it reached 100 degrees upon both. The thermometer registered 90 degrees or above for eight days (upon two days reaching the 100 degree mark), the humidity and night temperature being about as high as in 1896."

Of influenza, in another period of the year, this official report says, page 9: "The influenza which showed signs of increasing malignity during the latter part of 1900, continued to increase during the early part of 1901, causing altogether 856 deaths during the year."

The favorable showing of mortality for the year 1902 is therefore seen to be directly due to the absence of the deadly conditions of weather suffered in 1901. The decreases in the total of deaths are nearly all to be found in the above list of diseases and are incontestably due to causes which have absolutely no relation to the sanitary work of the Health Department. The friends of "Fusion" have no more right to claim for it the differences in the prevalence of the diseases noted than its enemies and critics have to charge it with being the cause of the increase in the number of suicides in the same period.

That the absurdity of these claims for credit is publicly appreciated is shown by the published letters in several newspapers from impartial citizen observers. One of these printed in the Sun of May 26, 1903, presents the case very cogently and comprehensively as follows:

"Dr. Parkhurst and the Citizens' Union evidently overlook the fact that the Summer of 1902 was the coolest we have had in thirty years, and as a result the death rate among children under five years was the lowest in nineteen years.

"I have looked over the records in Boston and Chicago, and even a greater decrease is shown in those cities as a result of the abnormally cool Summer of last year. Will Dr. Parkhurst and the Citizens' Union ascribe the low death rate in Boston and Chicago in the year 1902 to the Low administration, or will they give any thanks to the Almighty for the lovely weather of last Summer?"

LEDERLE FRIENDLY TO THE BEEF TRUST.

Mayor Low's Health Commissioner was severely criticised for his attitude on the subject of establishing a new abattoir at Eleventh avenue and Thirty-ninth street in this city. The opposition to the project by the department came at a time when the popular feeling against the Beef Trust was at its height.

This fact and the further one that the new abattoir was understood to be part of the plan of some independent dealers to fight the

trust, made the people very suspicious of Dr. Lederle's good faith. It was pointed out that a new plant of this character constructed under plans embodying all the modern improvement could not possibly be construed as a menace to health or even be likely to cause any nuisance or annoyance in the neighborhood. At any rate, it did not seem to be too much to claim that the wonderful efficiency accredited to the Health Department might be trusted to prevent the very necessary work of providing meat for the food of the poor people from developing any objectionable or dangerous features.

Even that sturdy "Fusion" organ, the New York Tribune, questions the correctness of the position taken by Dr. Lederle. On March 14, 1903, it said:

"It may perhaps be doubted, however, whether its decision, refusing to the retail butchers permission to build a big slaughter house at Eleventh avenue and Fortieth street, is the best possible in the circumstances. The retail dealers wish to set up an effective competition against the members of the beef combination, which has raised the prices of meats to unreasonable figures, and therefore they have the sympathy and good will of consumers generally.

"The Health Department's refusal is defended on the ground that it is not advisable to allow the construction of more slaughter houses in the Borough of Manhattan, no matter who the projectors may be, and it is said further that a recently submitted plan for a new abattoir on this island, to be raised by one of the principal firms in the so-called Beef Trust, was denied by the health officers. It is plain enough, however, that the two requests do not stand in the same order of merit. The great combination of firms who own so many stockyards and packing houses now controls every abattoir of much size and importance in this borough. The Health Department ought not to grant this corporation any privileges beyond those it now possesses. But is it altogether certain that it is the best policy for the benefit of the community to stifle competition in abattoir enterprise and development by rejecting the application of the retail dealers?"

The attitude of the press and of the public generally was made so manifest on this point that Dr. Lederle was reluctantly compelled to abandon his opposition to the competitors of the Beef Trust.

SOFT COAL NUISANCE NEGLECTED.

In the Summer of 1902, the Health Department was compelled to relax somewhat its efforts to enforce the city ordinances against the burning of soft coal in the city. On account of the coal strike and the scarcity of anthracite, the public was tolerant of this course. It must be said, however, that the efforts which might have been made to minimize the nuisance, which was perhaps necessary to the situation, were not comprehensive or uniform in their application, and when the necessity for laxity was removed, there seemed to be much of discrimination in the way that coal consumers were treated in the effort to restore to its usual clear condition the atmosphere of the city. A great many complaints from citizens reached the department and the newspapers. Lederle's response was very leisurely. It was some months before much progress was made.

LEDERLE MISLEADS PARKHURST.

It is, however, in a very little thing that the real character of the "Fusion" Health Department administration is best shown. Having begun his administration by wholesale and indiscriminate attacks upon his predecessors in the matter of the purchase of supplies, Dr. Lederle might be expected to exercise particular care in that direction himself. He had unhesitatingly supplied ammunition for fulsome commendation by the Citizens' Union by getting up a table comparing the purchases of the previous board with his own. This was published in the form prepared and the prices of items of supplies were given without any indication of the quantity purchased in the separate instances or of the circumstances under which the goods were supplied and delivered. Whether the figures were of any value or entirely misleading could not



be gleaned from the manner of their presentation. One instance, however, is sufficient to make the ordinary reader suspicious of the conclusion drawn from them by the friends of Dr. Lederle.

This instance unfortunately furnished the Rev. Dr. Parkhurst with an opportunity to make one of his characteristic blunders, as he fell into the error of repeating in his pulpit a palpably false statement taken from this table.

DR. PARKHURST NEVER RETRACTS.

No intelligent person, even though his understanding was clouded with prejudice as deeply as the doctor's is, can be excused for circulating such a wild statement as the doctor unquestioningly fathered in his sermon. Dr. Lederle's accountants presented a statement that in the purchase of alum his department was paying a fraction over two cents a pound, while the previous administration's records showed that they had paid five cents a pound. As a bald statement this really does not mean anything. The record of the five cent purchase may have referred to the purchase of a single pound sent out for in an emergency, and the two-cent item compared with it may have been a contract price for a large quantity. Without going into this, the doctor's dilemma remains the same. In their official statement of the circumstances, the Citizens' Union printer made the mistake or saying that borax, which they confused with alum, had been bought by Dr. Lederle for a fraction over two cents a pound, while the previous Board of Health had paid five dollars a pound. In his pulpit utterance on the subject, Dr. Parkhurst supplemented the effect of this egregious error by making the sensational statement that it was easy to tell what had become of the \$4.93 difference. This remarkable instance of misrepresentation, persisted in after its character was exposed, was never acknowledged or retracted by Dr. Parkhurst, nor did any of the "Fusion" organs among the newspapers of New York give any publicity to the correction. The New York Sun, however, despite its predilections in favor of the "Fusion" administration was fair enough to expose the doctor's prejudiced blunder.

FAKE REDUCTIONS OF FORCE.

The Citizens' Union publication of praise of Dr. Lederle's department contains the following paragraph:

"Dr. Lederle immediately dismissed 154 employees. This he was forced to do, because of deficiency of appropriation, but he took care to discharge as far as possible those who seemed to have little more to do than draw their pay. One whole division in the Sanitary Bureau was abolished and two other divisions were consolidated into one. When the reclassification of employees was completed, it was found that about \$100,000 had been saved to the city annually in salaries alone."

When the fact becomes known that the Sanitary Bureau, whose abolishment is referred to, consisted of one man, the value of this whole paragraph may be readily estimated.

FALSE CLAIMS OF ECONOMY.

It is further shown that the claim of a reduction of \$100,000 in salaries is wholly false and misleading. The reduction was the result of the establishment of the Tenement House Department, which took away from the Health Department some of the duties it previously was charged with. The police of the Sanitary Squad and the Tenement House Inspectors, formerly attached to the Health Department, drew salaries in the aggregate amounting to about \$100,000. Of course, it was sought to give the inference that the dismissal of 154 employees resulted in this saving. The fact is, however, that it was necessary to reappoint nearly all of the men who were included in this wholesale dismissal.

With the transfers from the Tenement House Department and the bond issues to the Health Department for salaries considered, Dr. Lederle's claim of saving \$100,000 to the city is seen to be plain falsehood.

COMPARATIVE TABLE.

1901 appropriations, salaries, Board of Health.....	\$ 545,794.00
1902 appropriations, salaries, Board of Health.....	527,826.00
This apparent saving of \$18,968 speedily disappears when the	

issue of revenue bonds for salaries in the Health Department is shown to be.....	104,797.73
And the money transferred from the Tenement House Department is shown to be.....	46,000.00
The resulting total of \$678,623.73 is therefore an increase over the salary appropriation of 1901 of.....	132,829.78
In 1903 the increase continued, the Health Department salary appropriation was	761,665.92
Revenue Bonds for salaries amounted to.....	71,992.00
Total	\$ 833,657.92

"FUSION" CLAIMS RECORD MADE YEARS AGO.

The mendacious character of the Citizens' Union Health Department attack upon the previous Board of Health Commissioners is shown by a number of other little items. The claim that the binding of the records of the department was a new thing is absolutely false. This work was always done by the department. The operations of the Bureau for the Prevention of Tuberculosis, claimed as an innovation on the part of the new officials was simply a continuation of the work of the previous Board. The investigation of the swamps and breeding places of malaria with a study of the work necessary to prevent the spread of disease from them was begun under the administration of the Van Wyck Health Board.

The campaign pamphlet shows the disingenuousness of its authors, by stating barely the fact that the first Municipal Bacteriological Laboratory ever established was that of the Health Department of New York City. This is stated as though the credit for this was due to the Lederle Board. As a matter of fact it was established in 1888, and the work done by the Lederle Board was a continuation of that which had been going on ever since.

A little indication that Dr. Lederle may yet be shown to have some of the characteristics of Secretary Gustavson of the "Fusion" Armory Board is found in the fact that the Health Commissioner's brother-in-law is interested in the Matt Taylor Company, which is doing all the concrete work for the Health Department and had a big job at the Sixteenth Street Hospital.

Chief Clerk Bell of the Health Department also shows some indications of the "Fusion" ideals of the advantages of holding public office. A great deal of supplies in the form of rubber goods is bought by the Health Department from Hodgman & Company. Mr. Hodgman is Bell's brother-in-law.

LAWLESS "REFORM."

When Reformers make a raid,
Armed with axe, and pick, and spade;
It's a circus for the Cits,
Who are subject to such fits;
With brass band they make alarm,
And it works just like a charm.

Men they lock up all the night,
In the cells they pack 'em tight;
In the morning, tired and worn,
To the nearest court they're borne;
Where the judge soon sets them free;
"No law for such arrests," says he.

Democracy is the hope of the people and the only agency of real reform.

LOW'S "CITY RECORD" SCANDAL.

The Mayor Made This Unsavory Mess His Own Affair by Sticking to Cowen to the Last.

The policy adopted by Mayor Low in the treatment of the scandal in the City Record office was characteristic and typical. The Supervisor of the City Record, Mr. Philip Cowen, was selected for appointment by Mayor Low himself, the indorsers of the application for his appointment being men who had been active in the "Fusion" campaign. It was, therefore, very difficult to convince Mayor Low that there could be any possible objection to Mr. Cowen. The new Supervisor had been in office only a short time when the Finance Department had occasion to complain of his methods. The first instance showing the retail character of the man who was put in charge of the city's wholesale printing and stationery interests was shown by his handling of the cash drawer. Although the City Record, being an official publication, has a very small list of paying subscribers, the paper is sometimes sold over the counter. The money that is thus received forms a petty cash fund out of which disbursements when properly accounted for may be made.

Under Supervisor Cowen's management, instead of a cash balance in this drawer, the officers of the Finance Department found a bunch of I. O. Us. Whenever he needed money Mr. Cowen took it out of the drawer.

COWEN'S NEPOTISM.

The Supervisor's next exhibition of the "Fusion" idea, that public office is a private snap, was when he appointed his sister to do some little work of sorting and indexing in order to get her name on the pay roll. None of the formalities of Civil Service examination or authorized appointments were gone through with and the Finance Department would not pass the pay roll on which the lady's name had been added.

The next development of the eccentricity of Mr. Cowen was his effort to get his friend and protege, Liepziger, appointed as the Superintendent of the city's advertising.

JOBBERY IN CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATION.

Mindful of his previous failure he resorted to the Civil Service Board and applied to them to have an examination held for this position. The subject was a new one for the Civil Service examiners and the Supervisor had an active part in preparing the line of questions to be used. This would seem to allow sufficient advantage to an applicant of his own selection, but Cowen and Liepziger were not satisfied. While the examination was in progress it was discovered that this applicant was writing his answers from a paper, with which he had been previously supplied, containing information on the necessary subjects. He was, of course, kicked out and is now barred from taking any Civil Service examination or from making application for any public appointment.

MAYOR LOW BLINDED BY PARTIALITY.

All these peculiar characteristics were fully shown to Mayor Low, but he stuck to his appointee. The natural result followed. Supervisor Cowen got the idea into his head that in his office, backed by the Reform Executive, he was free to carry out his personal notions and do anything he liked. Running on this plan he soon was again in trouble with the Finance Department, and Comptroller Grout was obliged to make formal charges against him in the Board of City Record. Mayor Low could not dispose of these things in the same cavalier manner that he had done in the previous petty cases.

The charges involved suggestions of corruption, and proofs of extravagance and incompetency in the purchase of stationery and supplies. It was also shown that in the handling of the city advertising the methods were wasteful and mistakes were frequent.

COMPTROLLER GROUT FORCES COWEN OUT.

In spite of the almost conclusive character of the charges the Supervisor was continued in office, attending in his own fashion to its duties, and piling up a deficiency by his extravagance. To be sure he was ordered to make a report upon these charges, but was not suspended or put under any additional supervision or guidance. The matter dragged along in this shape for months until Comptroller Grout grew restive under the scandal and demanded action. By this time the Supervisor was ready with a voluminous report in which he denied all charges. These denials were shown to be false in several particulars by the evidence in the hands of the Comptroller, yet a compromise was arranged between that official and the Mayor, who still stood steadily for Mr. Cowen, although admitting that he seemed to have made some mistakes. The compromise was that the Supervisor should be allowed to resign and leave the office with a certificate that his administration, though not satisfactory and efficient, was not shown to be dishonest. The official who succeeded Supervisor Cowen found the affairs of the office were woefully mixed up and that a deficiency of \$200,000 would be the result of the operations for the year in spite of the fact that the Cowen administration lasted little longer than six months. It is interesting to speculate on what the deficiency would have been had Mayor Low's stubborn opposition to Comptroller Grout's demand been resisted in and the Cowen administration continued for the whole year.

THE BUILDING DEPARTMENT

Arbitrary Removal of an Efficient "Fusion" Official—Illegal Appointment of a Successor Who Can Be More Easily Controlled for the Purposes of "Fusion's" Friends Among the Builders.

Perez M. Stewart was appointed Superintendent of the Bureau of Buildings when the Reformers came into power. Mr. Stewart was one of the few Fusion officials who managed the affairs of his office on a non-partisan basis and thus adhered to principles of the Reformers as they promised in their anti-election pledges.

Like many of the other Fusion officials Mr. Stewart was approached on the subject of "graft" by unscrupulous politicians and he it is said to his credit that he forcibly ejected these go-betweens from his office, and told them that he was there for the purpose of seeing that the building laws were obeyed.

Shortly after Mr. Stewart thus made it known that he was an honest man, some of the ringleaders in the "Fusion" camp began to make trouble for him. They tried to hamper him in every way possible.

From a public point of view Stewart's management of the Building Bureau was eminently satisfactory, but politically it was anything but satisfactory to the Greater New York Democracy. Mr. Stewart had the temerity, among other things, to discharge an incompetent clerk, a member of John Sheehan's political gang. At another time Mr. Stewart refused to permit some queer building plans to go through the bureau presented by John J. Adams, Cantor's law partner. Adams made himself quite conspicuous around the Building Bureau and tried to dictate to Thompson, but he refused to take "orders" from Adams or any politician.

There was much surprise when President Cantor suddenly removed Commissioner Stewart without giving any reason for the removal. There had been no charges preferred against him, and the formal

announcement merely stated the fact, and also that Henry S. Thompson had been appointed in his stead. The press and public failed to get any explanation from Mr. Cantor. Said the New York Herald editorially on May 3:

"Putting aside all sinister rumors as to the alleged influence of one or another big realty or building corporation, Mr. Cantor owes it to himself, to the man he has removed and to the people a public explanation of this remarkable exercise of official power."

All of the gossip and the insistent demands of the press had no result. President Cantor ignored the interest of the public and the right of Mr. Stewart by vouchsafing no hint of his motive in the arbitrary and precedent defying dismissal.

But Cantor finally yielded to the demand and imparted the information that caused him to dismiss Stewart. But unfortunately for the public, Cantor only told one man, and he was the Rev. Dr. Parkhurst. Most people were surprised to find that the Borough President considered himself responsible to the clergyman and not to the people who elected him. Shortly after being confided with this secret the doctor sailed for Europe, and it is not recorded that he ever imparted the secret to any one else.

Henry P. Thompson, a young society man, was appointed Stewart's successor on April 30, 1903.

Leaving Princeton College in 1894, Mr. Thompson was engaged looking after the financial department of his firm the Thompson-Starrett Construction Company, and later with the Fuller and the United States Realty and Construction Company. It was not known that he had ever had any practical experience of the building or technical departments of his concerns.

Mr. Thompson refused to give any information as to his experience as a builder, and had never even studied any of the basic principles at school or college.

Circumstances developed which caused public inquiry to be made into Mr. Thompson's qualifications, and no little scandal was caused when the fact that he had been graduated from college within ten years of the date of his appointment. The Charter provides that:

"Every Superintendent of Buildings shall be a competent architect or builder of at least ten years' experience."

Absolutely no notice whatever was taken by the Mayor or President Cantor of the protest that he was not eligible for the office—because the charter expressly stipulated that the person appointed to that office must have had at least ten years' experience as an architect or builder. It was shown that the young man, who is now in charge of a department having control of the construction of \$100,000,000 worth of new buildings every year, had merely been the fiscal officer in big construction corporations, and that he had never been a practical builder.

So important an official as Comptroller Grout objected, and refused to pay Mr. Thompson any salary until Mr. Rives, the "Fusion" Corporation Counsel, had so ordered. The legality of this appointment has therefore never been tested. The patent facts connected with his selection indicate very clearly that the young man was chosen because he had the support of the great capitalists and real estate operators upon whose enterprises it will be his official duties to pass. The question of his technical competency was never considered, apparently.

One of Thompson's strongest backers for the position was John Rockefeller's Bible class. About the time of Thompson's appointment it became known that the younger Rockefeller was largely interested in a prominent building concern. As the Rockefeller family has absorbed about everything else in sight, and have lately gone into the erection of buildings, it is not surprising that they wanted a friend in the Bureau of Buildings.

It is significant that immediately after Mr. Thompson's appointment, the United States Realty and Construction Company, his late employer, announced projected building operations amounting to \$3,000,000.

Some lawyers have given it as their opinion that until the courts

have passed upon the constitutionality of his appointment there is danger that all his official acts might be eventually declared illegal. This possibility threatens many very grave complications.

The voters can safely say that the selection of Henry S. Thompson for the important office of Building Superintendent was a flagrant breach of the pledges given before his election by Mayor Low. The young man was chosen much as Herr Gustav Lindenthal was for the position of Commissioner of Bridges—because he was identified with vast corporation interests whose ventures were within the official control of the city authorities and which might at any time make it necessary to have a friend at court.

THE TENEMENT DEPARTMENT.

Organized Under "Fusion," It Has Spent Money Lavishly and Accomplished No Good—Non-Residents and Grafters in Charge—The Wealthy Commissioner Practically an Absentee Executive.

One of the few cases where the Fusion administration was confronted with the responsibilities of organizing a department is found in the Tenement House Commission. The work was undertaken with a great flourish of trumpets, but the results are utterly inadequate. Greater New York must be congratulated that no such thing as a Low-"Fusion" administration was confronted in 1898 with the gigantic task of organizing the consolidated city under the new charter which then went into effect.

Robert W. De Forest was appointed Tenement House Commissioner by Mayor Low on January 1, 1902, and his salary is \$7,500 per year. De Forest is a millionaire and a corporation lawyer. He is an active member of the law firm of De Forest Brothers, and that firm is the counsel for the Central Railroad of New Jersey. De Forest spends a greater part of his time in his law offices, and he is a director of several corporations. He was formerly identified with the Charity Organization Society, and he has virtually turned the Tenement House Commission over to that society.

De Forest rarely goes to the office of the Commission in East Eighteenth street, and the affairs of the department are looked after by Lawrence Veiller, Deputy Commissioner.

Veiller is the "whole thing" in the department, and his word is law in the main office. De Forest has already planned to make him the Commissioner. This plan may fail on account of the discovery of practices on the part of Veiller which the Reformers would consider sufficient for a pass port to Sing Sing if discovered in the administration of Democrats. Veiller was formerly an instructor in the City College, and he was discharged from that institution for "incompetency," but there were some very serious charges against him. Through his connection with the Charity Organization Society, influence was brought to bear, and Veiller got out on the formal complaint of "Incompetency." But Veiller was persistent and secured a position as clerk in the Building Bureau. He assumed the authority of the Commissioner by writing letters and signing them with his chief's stamp. He was afterward charged with some crooked work, and was fired on the spot for that.

GRAFTING HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE.

During this time Veiller was still connected with the Charity Organization Society and he made the acquaintance of De Forest, but De Forest will be better acquainted with Veiller when he reads this. However, De Forest appointed Veiller Deputy Commissioner and he started in to "feather his own nest," not only in the department, but in his own home.

For occasionally a furniture dealer's wagon would drive around to his house and leave a present in the shape of a chair or table, as was done at Patterson's house, described below.

Veiller "feathered his nest" in the office by appointing over 60 per cent. of the officials and employees from those who had been connected with the Charity Organization Society. In fact, these people were favored in every way possible, and the Commission was made a political "retreat" for them. Out of 160 inspectors appointed, over 60 had been connected with the society. These people have been retained in the office on "soft snaps," that is, they rarely had anything to do but look pleasant and salute Veiller occasionally. There was a long list of women on the eligible list for appointment as inspectors, and Veiller sent out a circular in which he stated that he would appoint no more female inspectors. A few days afterward Veiller violated the law and appointed seven women from the Charity Society who had never taken an examination of any kind. Veiller was certainly good to the Charity Organization Society. Had they not got him out of trouble, and was it not through them that he received his appointment?

Another instance of Veiller showing preference for Charity Organization workers is cited: Twenty-five clerks were working in the office who had taken the examination and were on the eligible list for appointment as Inspectors. Veiller called these clerks into his private office and told every one of them that they must request the Civil Service Commission to remove their names from the eligible list. He further told them that if they were appointed—and they were the first names on the list—that they would be discharged for "incompetency." He explained that he had promised these inspectorships to the Charity Society, and their men must get the jobs, no matter how low their rating was.

John D. Dunklee was appointed as a "Superintendent." He is a relative of De Forest, and draws a salary of \$3,000 for just standing around and looking pleasant. He is supposed to be in charge of the work in the Bronx office. The department has rented an office up there, but it has never been opened for business. In it is stored a lot of furniture, also bought by Veiller and Patterson. Dunklee comes to the main office about once a week, looks wise and disappears for another period of rest. He never bothers about doing work, because he is a "Superintendent."

IOWAN "RAILROADED" INTO POSITION.

William R. Patterson is designated as the "Register of Statistics," and gets \$3,000 per year. He is well known as the man who was "railroaded" into his job.

Patterson was a school teacher out in Iowa, and through friends was recommended to De Forest by President Roosevelt. He came to town one week and went to work the next. In his case the Civil Service law was violated.

There was an eligible list of names for the position, but Veiller allowed him to take a non-competitive examination and go to work. There was no competitive examination held after he was appointed, and to all inquiries Veiller answered that there was no vacancy. The papers devoted considerable space to the case at the time.

Patterson formed an alliance with Veiller and assisted him to select some very expensive furniture for the main office of the Commission.

Since Patterson has been in office he has bought over \$30,000 worth of furniture, and, in direct violation of the law, has not advertised for bids nor even made any contracts. The salesman simply came around and Patterson told him what he wanted and it was sent up. The law distinctly states that all contracts over a thousand dollars shall be advertised and let to the lowest bidder. But Patterson paid no attention to the law. He just sent down and told his friend, the salesman, what he needed. Nearly every time the furniture wagon came up with a load of office furniture there was some article left in the wagon and taken up to Patterson's house.

A few months ago Patterson brought over \$5,000 worth of office furniture in one day, without any bidding, as in the other cases mentioned. When the furniture was delivered there was a chiffonier in the load, and the driver of the wagon was ordered to take it to Patterson's house. This looks like a clear case of graft if ever there was one.

A few weeks later Patterson was told by Veiller to order some filing cabinets, amounting to \$1,440. This time a Morris chair came up with the load, and Veiller saw it first, so it went to his house. Of course, Patterson had just moved here from Iowa and he needed all the furniture he could get, but he could not expect all the graft. However, he has his place pretty well furnished by this time.

But Veiller has the best of Patterson in one respect, and that is in the use of cabs at the expense of the department. Being the acting head of the department, Veiller thought it would be the proper thing to ride to the office and home again in a hansom cab. Accordingly a cab was engaged by the month, at \$150 per month, to bring Veiller down in the morning and take him out to lunch and home at night. The bills have been objected to by the Comptroller several times, but the city has to settle in the end. This cab business has been going on for over a year, and any one can see the hansom waiting for Veiller at Irving place and Eighteenth street any day.

MORE GRAFT AND EXTRAVAGANCE.

Furniture is not the only graft in the Tenement House Commission. Veiller ordered the Inspectors to buy their hats of Mark Cowen, of Lafayette place. Cowen is a brother of Philip Cowen, who was kicked out of the City Record office last Summer. The Inspectors were charged \$2 for their hats and they are worth about 35 cents. Veiller called all of the Inspectors in his office and "advised" them to buy their uniforms of Cowen, as he was a "personal friend" of his. More graft.

The Fusionists have claimed this is an economical administration. Evidently they did not include this department in their claims. Patterson bought sixteen water coolers for \$259.50 that could be bought anywhere for less than \$60. Letter presses were bought for \$18 that were worth \$3.50. A large piece of glass was ordered for De Forest's desk for which the city paid \$15, and it would be dear at \$2. These extravagant prices for supplies look very much as if some one was getting a "rake-off."

There were several thousand dollars appropriated for salaries that were diverted to other purposes without permission of the Board of Estimate. Veiller got up an edition "de luxe" of the tenement law and had it bound in expensive leather. This book was sent to De Forest's friends all over the world. Some more of the "salary" money went for several thousand copies of a newspaper containing accounts of De Forest's Tenement Commission, and the things he said he intended to do, but never accomplished. As a reformer of tenements, De Forest is as much a failure as Richard Watson Gilder. No doubt the tenements need attention, but De Forest should not neglect to reform his department.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST HEBREWS.

While the Tenement House Commission has been very friendly with the Charity Organization Society it has shown a marked discrimination against the Hebrew race. If a Jew was recommended for appointment he was sent for and questioned by Veiller. He was asked if he would work on a Jewish holiday. If he said no, he was not appointed. Some of them replied that they had no objection to working on a holiday, and then they were asked some other personal questions to lead to some ground of objection, if possible. Several of them were at the head of the eligible list and had to be appointed. Those who were given positions were the objects of the personal animosity of Veiller, who is a Frenchman. They were given all the hard work, and often insulted. Several gave up their positions in disgust.

But the climax came on September 21, when Veiller posted a notice, stating that if any Hebrew failed to work on the Jewish holidays this

year he would be fined, or dismissed, in his discretion. The matter was reported to several Hebrew societies, and they are making an investigation.

It's a queer kind of "reform" that discriminates against any one's nationality or religion. De Forest should give a little more of his time to his department and not so much to the corporations. Even if he is a millionaire, he is paid to look after the tenements by the city, and not to delegate the work to such grafters as Veiller and Patterson.

THE "FUSION" ARMORY BOARD.

The Usual Scandal and the Usual Relief from Punishment by Low.

The reluctance with which Mayor Low admits that there is any possibility of fault in the "Fusion" administration may be a commendable trait, but it would seem that a few more lessons on the subject would discourage him in this attitude. The Armory Board scandal was no exception to the rule of Mayor Low's complacent and self-satisfied indifference to conditions in his own official family that he would severely criticise if shown anywhere else.

The Armory Board is composed chiefly of ex-officio members. Low presides himself, the Comptroller is a member, and so is the ranking officer of the National Guard in this Division. This results, of course, in making an executive officer with large powers of the Secretary of the Board. The Fusion candidate for this place was John P. Gustaverson. He was contributed to the "Fusion" conglomeration by the Republican contingent, and William H. Ten Eyck was his backer. It is perhaps a further proof that Mayor Low is given over to the Republican party "body, boots and breeches," to find him standing as firmly in opposition to the charges against Mr. Gustaverson as he did in opposition to those against Supervisor Cowen, whose politics can only be described as a "Fusion" mixture.

It was only after many weeks of insistence on the part of the Comptroller and the very persistent publicity given to the matter by the Brooklyn Citizen that the Armory Board, which the Mayor dominates, gave any heed to the charges. In passing, the public may note that the press of New York, being largely responsible for the election of the "Fusion" ticket, tried to avoid giving this scandal any publicity on this side of the River. Brooklyn's concern in it was no greater than ours, but there happens to be a Democratic newspaper over there that is not tarred with the "Fusion" brush.

The sweeping charge was made that Secretary Gustaverson had ignored all the provisions of the law in regard to advertising for contracts, making specifications and taking competitive bids. The alleged firm of Henry Day & Co., which was really a cover for Henry C. Gustaverson, was given orders for all kinds of supplies and work of every description. The administration itself admitted that it was a case of absolute criminality.

Many lawyers are of the opinion that a felony is also involved. In paying the bills of Henry Day & Co., Secretary Gustaverson took the acknowledgement of his own brother as an official, permitting him to sign as "Henry Day." What degrees of forgery and felony are involved in this transaction has never been made public.

It was on May 15, 1903, that Comptroller Grout announced that he had discovered grafting in the Armory Board. He said with much indignation:

"It is the most damnable piece of roguery that has ever come under my notice."

Mr. Grout charged specifically that boatloads of coal "80 per cent. dirt and 20 per cent. coal" had been delivered to the various armories

in the city, and in many instances it would not burn; that the contract had been given to a "dummy" company known as the "Henry Day Company," which consisted of Henry C. Gustaveson, a brother of the Secretary of the Board, and who was also known as Henry Day, and George Tarrant; that Day & Co. had been paid for repairing armories, supplying drugs, plumbing, iron work, carpentry and painting.

Coal had been charged for at the rate of \$9 a ton, but the Comptroller refused to pay more than \$5 for it. Notwithstanding that he denied it, it was proved that Secretary Gustaveson had been a member of the firm of Day & Co. as late as 1898, if he was not actually so at the time the contracts were given to his brother as Henry Day.

When the Armory Board began an investigation Secretary Gustaveson was suspended. The Commissioners of Accounts reported that yearly appropriations had been exhausted in five months, and that the National Guard had been embarrassed thereby; that favoritism had been shown in the letting of contracts, and records burned to conceal underhand work.

In the face of these findings the Armory Board, by a unanimous vote, removed Secretary Gustaveson on the simple plea that his work had not been "satisfactory." This was on July 20, 1903. He had offered to resign, but the Mayor refused his request and put a motion to dismiss him, which was passed.

Gustaveson is a Republican and was urged for the position by Tax Commissioner Wells and Aqueduct Commissioner William H. Ten Eyck. He was held up by them as an example of what a citizen of rectitude should be and an example for all good "Fusionists" to follow. Yet on September 21, the day upon which William Hepburn Russell resigned his position as Commissioner of Accounts, he said:

"The rottenest piece of political corruption I discovered during my examination of accounts was in the office of the Secretary of the Armory Board."

District Attorney Jerome paid no attention to the case, and our Reform Mayor, Mr. Low, did not call the attention of the Grand Jury to it or take it to a Police Magistrate's Court.

Even with the incredible example given in the case of Supervisor of the City Record Cowen it is hard to believe the facts of the record that Mayor Low and his Armory Board let Secretary Gustaveson resign his position. Mayor Low's Commissioners of Accounts made a report on the matter in which they said while they fully acquitted the Secretary of having caused any loss to the city by extravagant contracts or by having any connection with or interest in the contracts and from any action which tended to the loss or injury of the city they declare him guilty of certain favoritism and irregularities in the performance of his duties. In this case again Comptroller Grout was not satisfied as easily as the Mayor, and after a hearing given to the Secretary, in which he was represented by very able counsel, he was dismissed. Although too much to blame himself to be properly described as a scapegoat, it cannot be denied that Secretary Gustaveson's superiors, the members of the Armory Board, were much to be censured. It had evidently handled its business in careless, loose and unsystematic fashion and must have been cognizant of the fact that many of its contracts were let without competitive bidding and that much of its supplies were purchased without complying with the formalities of the law.

"Mayor Low's a mighty ruler. He's a splendid city head,"

So declares the high and mighty prince of fakes.

He's a man of great refinement and undoubtedly well bred.

What a pity he should make a few mistakes.

Vote against "Fusion" fraud and false pretense.

Honest Democracy, purged of Deveryism, welcomes the return of her worthy sons.

Vote for Honest Democratic City Government in touch with the wants of the people.

DEPARTMENT OF WATER SUPPLY

"Fusion" Commissioner Monroe's Extravagance and Favoritism—Laborers Dismissed and Small Salaries Cut to Fatten Fees of Columbia Professors.

Facts tell most eloquently the story of the failure of "Fusion" to properly protect and manage the Department of Water Supply, which was committed by Mayor Low to the care of the Arch-Reformer, Robert Grier Monroe. The latter, who like nearly all of the "Fusion" department chiefs, bears the military title of "Colonel," was regarded as the most practical politician in Mayor Low's cabinet, and he was expected to be the most enthusiastic partisan of the Republican-Cit-Reform Trinity.

That his administration has resulted in as much corruption and petty graft as that of the other branches of the "Fusion" grafting tree is not surprising.

Some of the acts of this Reformer of Reformers, which have called down the severe criticism of the newspapers of every class are:

That he sought to build up the "Fusion" machine by the creation and disposal of patronage, without regard to the efficiency of the working force.

That the salaries of subordinates were reduced and the services of laboring men dispensed with, so that higher officials should be paid more.

That the force of employees in the Water Registers and Engineers' Department was doubled, the new appointees being mostly professors and students of Columbia College, with importations from Providence, R. I., Baltimore and other places.

That from January 1 to August 1, 1903, the sum of \$175,000 was spent in special work, the beneficiaries being Professor Seaver and two other Columbia College professors and graduates.

That in August, 1903, twenty months after Mayor Low's inauguration, extensive frauds were discovered by the New York American in the Meter Department.

That apartment houses, hotels, clubs, etc., had suffered from a shortage of supply, entailing danger from fire and other losses, and that in the Bronx Borough drinking water could not be had.

That generally the management of Commissioner Monroe was characterized by extravagance, incompetency, neglect and a thirst for patronage.

CUT SMALL PAY, RAISE BIG SALARIES.

The first act of Commissioner Monroe was to reduce the salaries of the working force from 10 to 20 per cent. The pay of typewriters and clerks with families, who were getting \$900 to \$2,000 a year was cut, but gradual increases were bestowed on "Fusion" appointees. A great number of laborers were dropped from the rolls.

Professor Seaver of Columbia College was appointed Consulting Engineer of Electrical Construction at \$4,000 a year. There is no such work as electrical construction in the Water Department, and the professor never appeared at the office. Nor did he even deign to call on pay days to sign the roll. Indeed, on every occasion it was necessary for a clerk to call him up on the Columbia College 'phone and ask him to call and sign the receipt.

Professor Burr of Columbia, College, John R. Freeman of Rhode Island and another were paid \$12,000 each—\$36,000 in all—for less than a year's supernumerary and consulting work. The total sum paid to them and to youths of Columbia who acted as their assistants from January 1 to August 1, 1903, was \$175,000. This included the price of a new steam launch, hotel bills and personal expenses.

In the Bureau of the Water Register and the Engineers' Department the number of clerks and inspectors was doubled by Colonel Monroe. The Chief Engineer, George W. Birdsall, who had never been identified with any political party in his official career of thirty years, was side-tracked. He possessed invaluable knowledge of the location of mains, connections, pipes and the intricacies of the system. In order to retain his services for difficult work, he was made consulting engineer at the same salary, \$7,500.

Then N. S. Hill of Baltimore was imported and made Chief Engineer in Birdsall's place at a salary of \$10,000 a year, and he was provided with an automobile.

In every instance where it was feasible graduates of Mayor Low's Columbia College were selected, the pay roll being increased at least \$20,000 a year in the Engineer's office, making, with the salary of Mr. Hill, \$30,000 more than before in one division within one year.

A SPECIMEN REFORM OFFICIAL.

Alonzo S. Gear, Water Register of the Bronx, who was appointed by the Strong "Reform" administration, dismissed by the Van Wyck administration; then reinstated by the Low "Reform" administration, was suspended on May 17, 1903, on three complaints—incompetency, insubordination and swearing. He had asked for 14 more assistants in addition to the 24 allotted him, but it was found that they were not needed. He was accused of writing to Governor Odell, Police Commissioner Greene and others criticising Mr. Munroe, and also of ordering his clerks not to speak to him except through his Chief Clerk.

NO RELIEF FROM MONROE.

Albert T. Foster, manager of the Algonquin apartment house, with other proprietors of the high-class apartment houses, hotels, and clubs on Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth street between Fifth and Sixth avenues complained that they could not get water pressure to supply their guests and tenants. In one hotel the boiler fires had to be put out because the water got so low that it became dangerous.

"We had to shut down our refrigerating plant once or twice because of the shortage of water," said J. C. Miller, proprietor of the Seymour and the Iroquois. "The danger by fire would have been very great."

"FUSION" TAXES ON BUILDERS.

By an order of Commissioner Monroe, every contractor using city water, has in addition to paying two inspectors at a cost of \$220 per month, to pay \$3 a day to an inspector who stands by the hydrant and turns the water on and off. This is something which was never required before. The Borough President appoints a \$100 a month inspector, the Commissioner one at \$120 a month, and in case they do not agree the Commissioner appoints a third to decide, the contractor paying the entire expense.

On August 9, 1903, it was claimed that Commissioner Monroe had caused to be illegally collected from \$3 to \$10 a year each for alleged extra water service to bakers, barbers, florists, laundries, milk dealers, restaurants, fish dealers, saloonkeepers, photographers and others, although Section 473 of the Charter prescribes that the Board of Aldermen shall fix a uniform scale.

"MR. RIVES" KINDERGARTEN.

Mayor Low's Corporation Counsel, George L. Rives, surrounded himself in that office with young society fellows who knew little about the city and cared less. When rules of strict etiquette were promulgated, the chief order being to the effect that in speaking or writing to or about the Corporation Counsel no one must ever neglect to call him "Mr. Rives."



"MR. RIVES" CORPORATION COUNSEL'S OFFICE KINDERGARTEN.

FUSION'S LAW DEPARTMENT.

Mr. George L. Rives, Mayor Low's appointee as counsel to the Corporation, confirms the belief that the whole "Fusion" outfit think themselves different from and better than the people in whose service they are employed. He holds himself aloof in an atmosphere of superiority, and when he does descend into the domain of practical effort and the consideration of everyday matters he usually manages to make himself ridiculous. For months after he was appointed the newspapers regularly called upon the Mayor to get rid of him, but that official's self-sufficiency extends to and covers his appointees so that he never can see that anything is the matter with them.

Mr. Rives, when interviewed at Newport on the subject of his duties, said: "My office is a sort of clearing house for all of the departments of the municipal government. Almost all of them come to me at some time or other for some sort of advice." It was in this same talk that he delivered himself of the famous opinion that "The Reform administration of Greater New York has done everything that is good and nothing that is bad."

This comprehensive commendation, which, of course, includes his own work, will not bear analysis in the Law Department or any other. It is simply another sample of the "Fusion" fashion of claiming everything. The fact is that Mr. Rives has repeatedly signed opinions which he had to recall and reverse within twenty-four hours, and has often advised officials to courses which they have found it impossible to follow.

The single example of the Bedell bill was sufficient to stamp him as eternally unfit to represent the city in any capacity. This iniquitous measure handed over to the corporations all the streets and all the rights that they have not already grabbed and put the city at the mercy of monopolies.

So flagrant were its provisions that all of the Albany correspondents supported the attacks made on the bill by the Democratic legislators, and the great journals of the city criticised it so severely that it was abandoned by its sponsor and virtually repudiated, even by Rives and Low.

There were many other instances of similar blundering in connection with proposed legislation, and instead of being a protection to the city in watching for dangerous legislation, the city's law officer had to be watched with great vigilance to keep him from advancing bad bills that were drafted by himself. The Sturgis bill, giving to a Fire Commissioner whose lack of judicial fairness was already demonstrated, the absolute and autocratic power of dismissal was not opposed by the Corporation Counsel because it was a Fusion-Republican job. The outrageous bill, under whose provisions, if enacted into law, a New York city school teacher could be dismissed for an infraction of a Board of Education by-law, was killed by the force of public opinion, but not objected to by Mr. Rives' representative. The Mayor's "Sweep" bills, abrogating the Civil Service law, if not subverting the Constitution, were the product of the Rives' bill factory. Governor Odel's mortgage tax bill and other experimental forays in every direction to seek relief from taxes for the farmer were not opposed on behalf of the city, albeit many of them were so drawn as to militate against us here.

Mr. Rives was again peculiar in his attitude upon the matter of opening streets through the city parks. The New York World, January

16, 1903, condemned "Mr. Rives' desire for a bill giving New York city power to open streets through any public park," and said:

"In such a measure would lurk more of peril to the park system—and particularly to Central Park—than of possible utility to the public."

The project which Mr. Rives lent his assistance to was one formed by the wealthy residents in the neighborhood of East Seventy-second street, who petitioned to have the name of that thoroughfare changed to "Park lane" in imitation of the famous, exclusive residence street in the West End, London. They also wanted to have the streets on which they lived cut through the park. This would, of course, enhance the value of their properties and give the section an air of aristocracy, but it would at the same time destroy the park features of the people's pleasure ground.

Mr. Rives is further distinguished by his record as a member of the Board of City Record where he stood loyally with the Mayor behind Superintendent Cowen, whom Comptroller Grout had accused of unbusinesslike methods which more than suggested corruption, as well as general inefficiency.

MR. RIVES' ARISTOCRATIC FRIENDS.

Corporation Counsel George Rives aggrieved many Bronx citizens by recommending for appointment as commissioners on street opening proceedings in that Borough, several wealthy residents of Throgg's Neck, who are members of the fashionable country club set. Three appointments which caused particular surprise were those of Mr. Alfred W. Cooley, Francis de Ruyter Wissman, and Henry A. Coster. All of these men reside on Throgg's Neck. Mr. Cooley was appointed a member of the United States Civil Service Commission by President Roosevelt, whose personal representative he was on the floor of the Assembly, when Mr. Roosevelt was Governor.

FUSION'S STREET CLEANING DEPARTMENT.

Frauds, Scandals, Extravagance and Inefficiency.

Experience of "Fusion" Republican Reform has proved very costly to taxpayers and irritating to citizens of every class, so far as the administration of the Street Cleaning Department under Major John McGraw Woodbury is concerned.

Indeed were it not for the serious addition to the expenditures of the city for two years, the mismanagement of the medico-military expert would be a source of amusement. Passing over his well-known eccentric personality; his bumptious self-consciousness, and extravagant language; the key to his incumbency of this important branch of municipal government has been financial waste, and danger to the health of the inhabitants. It is a notorious fact, that the streets of the city have never been so filthy or neglected. Yet in his first year, Commissioner Woodbury received over \$300,000 more than his predecessor, apart from special appropriations.

Grafting, blackmail and shakedowns have been discovered, and no attempt made to bring the offenders to justice.

The extent to which the department was disorganized, may be gathered from the recorded fact that on one occasion he transferred the entire street cleaning force from Brooklyn to Manhattan, leaving the borough across the river without any service.

"Certain eccentricities of manner seemed to have conveyed the impression to those who have come in contact with him that he is not very practical," said the New York Times editorially on January 7, 1902.

The prominent feature of Major Woodbury's administration was his continuous demand for more assistants, more horses, more carts,

more machinery, more plant, more stables, and more money, particularly the latter. As early as January 15, 1901, he got from the Board of Estimate a bond issue of \$184,100 to buy plant and stock, alleging that he must have at once 300 horses, 60 steel ash carts, 20 double steel ash carts, 15 bicycles, and other things including a dump at the foot of West Seventy-ninth street, costing \$7,500, and a crematory at West Forty-seventh street, costing \$29,000. The request was granted, although a similar request made by his predecessor was refused.

THE SNOW REMOVAL SCANDALS.

It was at this time that the waste and fraud were discovered in the department. Snow Superintendent Clark announced that certain inspectors had given away tickets in bunches while they were drinking in saloons, and that men had collected for delivery of loads when they had not done any work. Others had filled their carts with snow a short distance from the dumps and received tickets. The same sum was paid for a short or long haul.

M. D. Bouton, Superintendent of Street Cleaning, investigated the snow removal scandal, and declared that the city had been robbed of thousands of dollars, and it was alleged that owners of wagons which did not convey full loads were paid for full loads, and that snow collected uptown was dumped on vacant lots in some cases only fifty feet from the place of loading, and that drivers were paid as if they had collected the snow and carried it to the dumping docks.

Superintendent Bouton found that in Brooklyn in one day 15,000 tickets had been issued to cart drivers, but that there had not been enough streets cleaned to warrant the giving out of so many. On the following day only 7,000 tickets were given out and the number of streets cleaned showed a decrease of only 20 per cent. This made a difference of more than \$5,000 in the cost of street cleaning for one day.

The same official learned that the wagons did not contain the regulated amount of one and a half cubic yards. Some wagons carried less than half the legal measure, yet the drivers collected seventy-five cents for each load.

In a nutshell, the amount of money paid out the day before Mr. Bouton took charge was \$11,690; while on the day he issued the tickets himself it dropped to \$5,110, which showed a loss to the city at the rate of \$39,420 in six days.

Commissioner Woodbury had practically carte blanche as to expense, yet streets were blocked, business was delayed, and slush and dirt bred disease. The snow in the streets of New York above Fifty-ninth street was untouched. No previous commissioner ever dared to be guilty of such neglect.

EXTRAVAGANT STABLE BUILDING.

In the revised budget of 1902 the Commissioner asked for an increase of about \$100,000 over the amount which the previous administration had deemed sufficient. This made his total demand \$5,464,611.50. Notwithstanding this, the Low administration agreed without demur or investigation to grant Dr. Woodbury whatever he asked for.

The crowning glory of Commissioner Woodbury's official career was his successful plea for the sum of \$225,000 to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment to construct a stable for his department in Brooklyn. Comptroller Grout was amazed at the request, and objected, saying he saw from the plans that it was proposed to erect a beautiful building in the French style of architecture.

"I don't see any necessity for the city's being called upon to spend so much money for a beautiful chateau in which to stable horses," said Mr. Grout.

But Dr. Woodbury pleaded hard and said that he wanted to have a repair shop, storage room, wardrobe lockers and shower and tub baths for his men.

Then Mr. Grout yielded, except that he thought the mansard roof

should be dispensed with. But the Street Commissioner had his way, and every member of the board voted for the extravagant structure.

WOODBURY DISCRIMINATES AGAINST MERCHANTS.

Merchants, dry goods men and department store firms were so angered at the treatment meted out to them by Commissioner Woodbury, that they went to the Supreme Court on February 13, 1902, and asked for a mandamus to compel the Commissioner to remove ashes and other refuse from their premises and the adjacent streets. He had refused to do so, and the complainants alleged that he had discriminated against them unlawfully, fearing that the necessary expenditure would exhaust his appropriation. Hays and Herschfield, counsel for the firms, proved that Dr. Woodbury had removed ashes and refuse from the private residences and apartment houses in the vicinity of their stores since November 24, 1901, but had declined to cause the removal from any other buildings. Repeated requests had been ignored. The Commissioner, it was related, had said he feared that his entire appropriation would be used up long before the end of the year if he removed all the refuse in the business districts. He had hitherto done so as a favor and not as a duty.

In arguing for the Street Commissioner, the assistant corporation counsel, Mr. McGuire, made the novel plea that if the citizens were dissatisfied with the results of Major Woodbury's work "the polls were open to them for a change of administration."

BLACKMAIL AND CORRUPTION CHARGED.

In March, 1902, the Drivers, Sweepers and Hostlers' Union charged that \$2,500 a week was being collected in blackmail money by foremen of the Street Cleaning Department and their agents. District Attorney Jerome at the time said:

"The department is absolutely honeycombed with corruption."

But no attempt appears to have been made to find out who was collecting the "graft," and Mr. Jerome, with all his constitutional authority and power, did not bring any of the alleged blackmailers to justice.

On February 19, 1903, Michael DiIippo and Joseph Martello, two laborers, complained to Magistrate Flammer that they had been hired to shovel snow. The foremen asked them for their tickets and, as they did not have any, they were told to go to a saloon nearby and pay the proprietor twenty-five cents each, and they would receive a ticket entitling them to work. The men claimed that over one hundred men had paid tribute at this saloon. On Christmas Day forty dollars had been paid at this one place for blackmail, independently of the money which the laborers were expected to spend for drink. But the administration took no steps to end the graft.

Albert Karschar, of No. 208 East 102d street, who was arrested on complaint of the Street Cleaning Department, told Magistrate Zeller in court that he had refused to pay \$2 a month for the removal of ashes and refuse from each of his twenty-six houses in the city.

"I am morally certain there is a 'shake-down' in this case," said the Magistrate. "I know of a case where a man had to pay \$30 before he could get his refuse removed."

But the Street Commissioner only replied:

"I don't believe there are such things as 'shake-downs' in the department."

And that closed the incident.

FADDIST AND AUTOCRAT.

Another fad of the Commissioner is his posing as a lecturer. He appeared on the platform, describing his work and using lantern slides giving views of selected streets to illustrate his success.

Suits for thousands of dollars damages were begun in January, 1903, as a result of a quagmire in New street between Wall street and Exchange place. There were dozens of cases of typhoid fever caused by the filthy conditions.

It was in February, 1903, that the Street Commissioner decided that he should be clothed with police powers, so Assemblyman Wright, at the request of the Low administration, introduced a bill at Albany providing the Street Commissioner with a permanent detail of seventy men from the regular force. The bill also provided for double the force of medical examiners, and an increased force of veterinary surgeons. Three general inspectors, a civil engineer, and many increases of salary were requested for some of the officials.

Thereafter peremptory arrests were the rule, where citizens did not obey the Commissioner, and one teamster was arrested by Dr. Woodbury himself on one occasion, because he did not move his truck out of the way of the Commissioner's wagon. The offender was fined \$3 in court.

WOODBURY WANTS INCREASE.

Dr. Woodbury was forced to acknowledge that he had not made a conspicuous success in his department and when interviewed as to the many complaints in January, 1903, he said, airily:

"Give me \$1,000,000 more and I will put this department in shape. We need 500 more horses, 500 more carts, 500 more drivers, 50 more hostlers, three new stables, foremen, assistant foremen, stable clerks, added water front accommodations, and 500 sets of harness."

REPUBLICAN FUSION EXTRAVAGANCE IN DEPARTMENT OF STREET CLEANING FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1902. FINAL DISPOSITION.

	1902.	1901.	Increased cost of Fusion in 1902.
Total expenditure	\$123,000	\$378,000	\$81,000
Or an increased expenditure in 1902 of 16 per cent.			
	1902.	1901.	Loads in favor of Fusion.
Loads of refuse material disposed of....	970,500	916,500	54,000
On an increase in favor of Fusion of 5½ per cent.			
NET INCREASED PERCENTAGE COST OF FUSION.			Per Cent.
Net increased cost of Fusion.....			16
Deduct loads in favor of Fusion.....			5½

Republican-Fusion extravagance.....10½

Total cost per load to dispose of all refuse in 1902 exceeds 1901 by nearly 4 per cent. per load, or a total increased cost of nearly \$40,000 as a result of Republican administration.

Don't make those goo-goo eyes at me,
Says little old New York;
I know Reform gold bricks, my boy,
I know the rot you talk.

Vote against "Fusion" fraud and false pretense.

CHAIRMAN BRUCE AND "MR. DEVERY."

"Mr. Devery," discredited in every other direction and banished from the ranks of the purified Democracy, still has the regard and support of Chairman Bruce of the Republican County Committee.

Chairman Bruce took it upon himself to sound a warning to the leaders of the Democracy in his great concern over the expressions of irrevocable opposition to the continuous performance primary contestant in the Nint'.

It is certainly a shame to have Chairman Bruce so disappointed over the results of his investment in an alliance with the collapsed disciple of "hot air" in politics.

Vote against Republicanism masked as non-partisanship.

HOT AIR



FADING AWAY

"FUSION'S" PARK DEPARTMENT.

Plenty of Money Spent and Little to Show for It—Hundreds of Republican Henchmen Appointed as "Assistant Gardeners."

The Fusion administration's Department of Parks is pointing with pride to a record of four new parks opened as compared with one opened during the previous administration. Of course, it need not be explained that it is absolutely impossible for any park property to have been acquired and opened for park purposes within the period that this administration has been in office. It is a matter of several years to carry through the legal proceedings for the condemnation of land for park purposes, after which the work of tearing down and removing the buildings and surveying and laying out the site and improving it for park purposes is a matter of several years more.

Therefore, these parks "opened" with such eclat by President Willcox and his fellow commissioners of the Fusion Board must be credited to their predecessors.

The members of the present Board of Park Commissioners have been very active, and have enjoyed the advantage of having unlimited funds at their disposal. This has been accomplished by the resort to bond issues. The Board of Estimate has been very liberal in authorizing such issues, and the result has been great activity and bustle in park department work. If the Commissioners could claim an equal showing of results accomplished, they would have reason to be proud of themselves. Unfortunately, however, there is very little to show for all this expenditure. Most of it has been wasted, as in the case of appropriations for the improvement of the Central Park drives. These drives were in excellent condition; yet President Willcox has spent many thousands of dollars in the work of replacing their shale surface with gravel. In this work it must be confessed the men were obliged to do something.

WASTEFUL INCREASE OF LABORING FORCE.

In most of the places where the payroll expenses have been largely increased the result has not been any additional work. There has been nothing for the men to do, and they have lounged about in each other's way, even crowding the basement of the Arsenal, where the offices of the park commission are located, in such numbers as to create a scandal that must have attracted public attention.

In spite of this fact the payrolls of the Park Department show a most remarkable absence of men drawing pay under the title of laborers. This is the result of one of the peculiar "Fusion" practices of juggling with the Civil Service. The Park Commissioners, upon taking office, found themselves under a tremendous pressure from the Republican machine for places for unskilled laborers. President Willcox was in despair and unable to respond to the demands of his party friends. In February, 1902, at a dinner of the Republican Club in the Twenty-second District, he expressed the opinion that the leaders of the party must spend nineteen hours out of every twenty-four in hunting after patronage, and dolefully protested that he was getting much too great a share of their attention. He begged them to ease up on him. There was no let up and the result was:

THE "ASSISTANT GARDENER" FAKE.

The City Record's official roster, published July 29, 1903, contains a list of several hundred men employed under this title. In spite of the requirement of law that the title under which a man is appointed should show the nature of the duties he performs, there is nothing whatever to show any distinction in the character of the work of any

of these assistant gardeners. Yet when the men are looked up and traced to their various occupations it is found that an astonishing variety of positions is concealed under the title. Clerical work in the offices of the Commissioner of the department is performed by some of them. Painters and other workmen in the mechanical branch of the department sign the payroll beside the designation of assistant gardener. Drivers who gayly hold the reins over department horses are officially known as assistant gardeners. There seems to be no end to the versatility of the men grouped under this elastic title.

As an indication of the extent to which the appointment of assistant gardeners and the stuffing of the ranks of unskilled laborers under this designation has been carried, it has been found by investigation in the Comptroller's office that

The payrolls for the corresponding weeks in August, 1901 and 1903, show an increase from \$1,600 in the former year to \$16,650 in the latter year.

PLAYGROUND MANAGEMENT FAULTY.

President Willcox especially plumes himself on the record of his department since January, 1902, in the matter of opening and maintaining playgrounds for children. These playgrounds are in Seward Park, Hamilton Fish Park, DeWitt Clinton Park and Thomas Jefferson Park. The one in Seward Park was in operation during the term of the previous board; the one in Hamilton Fish Park was completed and in use before that board went out of office; and the one in Thomas Jefferson Park had been made possible by the energetic work done under former Commissioner Clausen in clearing off the buildings and grading and surveying the site of that park, even though it was known that it would be some years before a sufficient appropriation would be available for its permanent improvement. The playground in DeWitt Clinton Park is a new one, it having been established since January 1, 1902.

In connection with this claim of credit for the playgrounds, it is perhaps not out of place to call attention to their present status. It is the opinion of many of the friends of the movement for their establishment that under the management of the present Park Board they are very far from realizing the advantages expected of them or which they are capable of affording. A very important expectation concerning them was that they would be so managed as to afford places of healthful recreation to the younger children of the neighborhoods in which they were established. This feature seems to have been entirely lost sight of.

There is no discipline enforced among the children who resort to these playgrounds, and the natural result is that the larger and stronger children are in complete possession of all their facilities. The little ones are crowded out and forced back into the streets, from which it was planned to rescue them. The active youngsters who are able to stand their ground in the city's play places, according to the principle of the survival of the fittest, are a pretty hard lot. They believe in very strenuous amusement; and the apparatus of the gymnasium playgrounds suffers so severely under their assaults that the requisitions which reached the Park Department for replacing it are received almost daily.

EXTRAVAGANT OFFICIALS.

Everything about the park department savors of extravagance. As soon as it was installed in office, costly improvements were planned and carried out in the Arsenal Building, where the headquarters of the department is located. The next development in this direction was furnished by the secretary of the board, Mr. Terry, in the purchase of a pair of horses for ostensible use in trips of inspection and supervision. In the whole history of the Park Department no larger price than \$250 had ever been paid for a horse, even when it was necessary to furnish mounts for the mounted policemen. For the secretary's use, however, nothing could be found for less than \$400 a head that was good enough; and he could not be satisfied without having a team purchased for him at that figure. The secretary's vigilance in the matter of making the inspections for which his team of horses was purchased is so conscientious that whenever he is otherwise engaged he loans the Park Department horses to trusted friends, to whom he delegates this

work of inspection and keeps the team well exercised. The Secretary moved up from the office of a downtown beusiness concern, in which he was interested, to take the position of Secretary of the Board. Shortly afterward he was followed by the furniture and fittings of his former office, which were stored in the Park Department Building.

SCANDAL IN RENTING CITY PROPERTY.

President Willcox depends very largely upon the secretary of the board in the details of the conduct of the affairs of the Department. Sometimes, however, he finds it necessary to give personal attention to such little matters.

In May, 1902, the buildings remaining on the site of DeWitt Clinton Park were sold for removal as a step toward the work of improvement there. The terms of sale, as stated by the auctioneer at the time that he took the bids, required that the buildings should be removed within a specified brief period. All of the buildings were promptly removed by the purchasers according to the terms of the sale, except a brick structure occupied by a silk manufacturer. This building was left standing, and this factory continued in operation for several months after all the others were razed to the ground.

It was not until the middle or last of December that the machinery was removed from the factory and the work of tearing down the building begun. The influence which operated to secure this discrimination was that of a political and personal friend of Commissioner Willcox, who persuaded him to permit this delay. As the building had been sold by the City, the Bureau of City Revenue could not collect rent for its use and occupancy, nor was there any way in which the Park Department officials could make any charge to the occupant.

It is said, however, that the privilege of remaining there and keeping his factory in operation was worth a thousand dollars a month to the proprietor, and that there is no doubt that payment upon this basis was made to somebody.

'FUSION' AND RAPID TRANSIT.

More Ridiculous Efforts to Grab Credit for Things Which Low's Officials Had Nothing to Do With.

The Citizens' Union campaign document, issued on the subject of Rapid Transit, is a notable example of the manner in which they manufacture alleged history.

It claims for the credit of the Fusion administration everything that has been done, or planned in the direction of improvement in transit facilities within the city limits, despite the fact that nearly everything to which they refer ante-dates in conception or in some considerable progress the birth of the Low-Fusion administration.

In addition to this wholesale appropriation of the results of the efforts of many administrations, of the Rapid Transit Commission and of the transportation corporations, who have devoted themselves to transit questions in years past, the C. U. chronicle teems with false statements about the record of its predecessors. These false statements are supplemented by equally mischievous statements that are partly true, but are so treated as to be only misleading in their effect.

The mischief making effect of this remarkable political document is, however, very slight, when it is considered as a whole. Any intelligent citizen who reads it through will find that in its claims there are enough which are palpably false to discredit the whole document. After its voluminous assertions of entire responsibility for all the good that has been accomplished and all the improvements that are planned, the Citizens' Union manifesto descends from the sublime to the ridiculous, by publishing in apparent seriousness claims for credit to Fusion in the following language:

ABSURD FUSION CLAIM.

"The Manhattan Elevated Railway System has availed itself of the progressive attitude of this administration to make extensive improvements upon its lines, the most conspicuous being the change of motive power from steam to electricity. This company is now arranging to make alterations to their stations, to the great convenience of the public."

The absurdity of the contention that the Fusion administration, which came into office January 1, 1902, has any share in whatever there may be of credit for the electrical operation of the Elevated R. R., is apparent to everybody in New York. This system of electrical transportation required many months in the work of planning, and preparation before the installation of the third rail, with current conductors and other appliances, was attempted upon the company's structure and even the work of this installation had been long in progress when Mayor Low took office.

MORE ABSURDITY.

Another example of absurd claims follows:

"The Metropolitan Street Railroad has made haste under the Fusion administration to effect great improvements in its equipment, substituting electrical for horse-power on all its cross-town lines."

The number of years of effort and experiment spent by the City Transit Companies to overcome the difficulties at the crossings of the uptown and cross-town lines is known to all of the public. To claim that these difficulties were overcome by reason of any influence of the Fusion administration upon the affairs of the city is perfectly absurd. It might as well be claimed that the natural laws controlling electricity were influenced by the fact that there is a "Fusion" Mayor in the City Hall. As a matter of fact, the solution of the problem and the beginning of the work, the results of which are now exploited as a "Fusion" triumph, were both, as in the case of the elevated railroad improvement, of date many months before January 1, 1902.

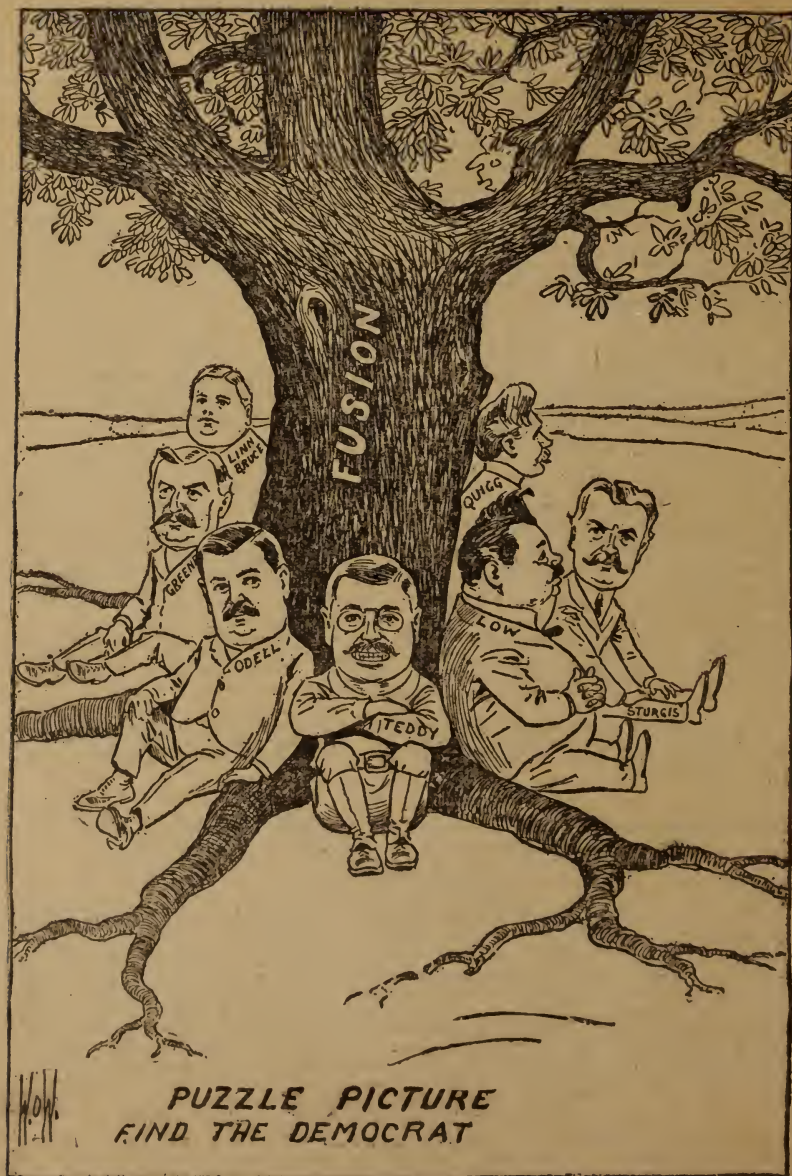
"FUSION'S" PRETENDED NON-PARTISANSHIP.

Republican Insistence That Only a Republican Can Run for Mayor On the "Non-Partisan Platform in This Democratic City."

The first conclusive evidence of the hollowness of the "Fusion" pretense to non-partisanship is furnished by Mayor Low himself. It is in evidence throughout his administration of the office of Mayor, a notable instance being shown during the State campaign last fall. The Mayor did not hesitate to give the moral support of his name and of his office to the partisan candidacy of Benjamin B. Odell, Jr., as a candidate for Governor. He presided at a political demonstration, one of the most important of the campaign held in this city, for the Governor. In many other ways the Mayor was active in aid and support of the Republican State campaign.

PARTY POLITICS ADMITTED.

Even in his own campaign, this fall, the Mayor has been betrayed by the weakness of his non-partisanship pretensions to a disclosure of the real situation on that question. In his letter to Boss Cutting, written on September 4th, for the evident purpose of forestalling any interference with the Republican Citizens' Union plan of renominating him, Mayor Low exposed himself completely.



Despite the usual flavor of Pecksniffianism which characterized the communication, it is plainly evident that the Mayor could not disguise, even to himself, the position that he occupies in the advance guard of the Republican National Campaign for 1904. His expressions on the subject should be read with careful analysis. They are as follows:

"I have found, in certain quarters that are entirely friendly, the opinion that the present emergency, perhaps, calls for the nomination of an independent Democrat as the leader of the Fusion forces this year.

"Under these circumstances, I very much prefer that the conference should act upon that view, and, in that event, the candidate of the conference will have my hearty support. My single idea is that the conference shall recommend for nomination the person most likely to be elected.

"In this situation I recognize not only the very natural feeling that turn about is fair play, but also the natural and inevitable result of the shortening of the Mayor's term from four years to two, which brings this municipal election in the year preceding the National election. This has thrown into the coming city canvass the maximum amount of party politics, and has made it as difficult as possible for this superb city of 3,750,000 people, with business and social interests of its own far greater in importance than those of many States, to elect its city government, from the point of view of its own interests only, instead of with an eye to the possible indirect bearing of the election upon State and National issues."

THE PRESIDENT INTERESTS HIMSELF.

President Roosevelt comes next, perhaps, in importance as furnishing evidence to refute the claim of Fusion non-partisanship. During the whole Summer, while presiding at the "Summer Capital" in Oyster Bay, and with his daily movements photographed and described in every detail for the benefit of the country at large, he furnished instance after instance to show where he stood. The inspired articles from the Oyster Bay correspondents, published in administration and Fusion organs, made no secret of the President's attitude. He was represented as being determined to take an active hand in arranging the local ticket and in seeing that Mayor Low should again be the standard bearer of the so-called "Fusion" movement. He did not hesitate to let it be understood that he fully appreciated the importance of having a Republican in the Mayor's chair in New York City in the Presidential campaign.

PARTISANSHIP SMIRCHES PATRIOTISM.

The most significant and the most characteristic evidence of President Roosevelt's willingness to appeal to partisanship in connection with the Low campaign this fall is shown by his remarkable action on New Jersey Day at the battlefield of Antietam. The President made an address on the occasion of the dedication of the monument to the New Jersey soldiers who fell in that battle. In the course of his remarks, he took occasion to mention the name of General Greene, one of the officers of the Federal forces in that engagement. General Greene's share in the honors of that glorious day was one entirely to his credit, but not in any way such that should make him conspicuous above the other officers of the same rank who were engaged. There was certainly nothing in it to suggest the singling out of his name for mention, in view of the fact that President Roosevelt never once uttered the name of Major-General George B. McClellan, the commanding General on that day.

Without going any further, this incident would have seemed peculiar, but the President did not stop here. His purpose in introducing the name of General Greene was made evident by his explaining to his hearers that General Francis V. Greene, one of the members of the "Fusion" administration of New York City, was a son of the officer of whom he had made such flattering mention. This plain indication of willingness to mix the patriotism of this interesting occasion with cheap partisanship in a reference to a remote and unconnected New York City matter is hardly consistent with the professions now resorted to, that President Roosevelt will not interfere in the matter of Mayor Low's candidacy or canvass.

ODELL'S PLAIN DECLARATION.

Governor Odell is, perhaps, the next most conspicuous exhibit in the array of evidence discrediting the Fusion claim of non-partisanship. Even on the occasion of his four weeks' vacation tour to the Pacific Coast with Police Commissioner Greene, Governor Odell lost no opportunity to declare himself in favor of the renomination of Mayor Low. To the reporters in the far West, whose papers and readers had no possible interest in New York City affairs, Governor Odell gave this constant assurance. It was only by his treatment of the announcement that it gained a general interest or could be used as news for the readers of those distant neighborhoods. Governor Odell's words supplied this general interest by making the matter of Mayor Low's campaign a subject of National importance. In a general review of the Republican situation in the country, Governor Odell felicitated the party on its victories in New York and other States last fall, and spoke encouragingly of the outlook from his standpoint for the future, leading directly up to the prospects for 1904. In conclusion, he gave the whole weight of his political and partisan judgment concerning the New York City campaign this Fall in these words:

"Our next great fight is for Mayor of the City of New York."

Senator Thomas C. Platt takes an important place in furnishing evidence of the strong and dominating Republican flavor of the so-called Fusion campaign. He has been insistent all Summer long in urging that there is no candidate in sight but Mayor Low, and he displayed scant patience in considering or discussing the possibility that fairness to the electorate of the metropolis would dictate the nomination of a Democrat in National politics for the standard bearer of what is claimed to be a non-partisan business administration movement.

STATE CHAIRMAN DUNN IN LINE.

Chairman Dunn, of the Republican State Committee, from the more than suburban distance of Binghamton, N. Y., testified to his interest in the political matters of this city by his repeated utterances concerning the candidacy of Mayor Low. In his own words, he was for Low, first, last and all the time.

BRUCE ADDS TESTIMONY.

Chairman M. Linn Bruce, of the Republican County Committee, in all his utterances, spoke in the same strain. Mr. Bruce is an up-country importation who reached this city by way of Greenville, N. J., where he is remembered chiefly on account of the sudden and peculiar nature of his departure. Mr. Bruce, ever since becoming the Chairman of the County Committee—which position was offered to him after it had been characterized as an "old slough hole" and disdainfully refused by many good men, has insistently declared that the nomination of Mayor Low, the Republican, as the non-partisan candidate for Mayor was an absolute necessity, and that no other man could be considered.

"ME, TOO"—QUIGG.

Even little things have their value in deciding a question of this kind, and straws are sometimes useful in showing which way the wind blows. Mr. Quigg joins in the Republican assurance that Low is the only possible candidate for this non-partisan campaign, and when Mr. Quigg, too, has spoken for the Republicans, "they are all in." Of course, like his colleagues in the G. O. P., Mr. Quigg's distinguishing characteristic is self-abnegation, party-abnegation and supreme devotion to reform and non-partisanship.

THE "NON-PARTISAN" HUMBUG.

The efforts of the Republicans to disclaim the fact that they swing the so-called "Fusion" party are laughable. President Roosevelt leads with an unofficial but apparently authorized proclamation of non-interference in the selection of the candidate for Mayor. Following the symposiums at Oyster Bay, with Low, Swanstrom, Coffey, and others, over the local political situation and considered with the avowed candidacy of the President for the 1904 nomination this is scarcely convincing.

Quite amusing, also, is the effort of the Mayor to obscure and cause to be forgotten the fact that he presided at an Odell mass meeting in

the last campaign and gave much official and personal aid and encouragement to the Republican State ticket.

Funniest of all, however, is the attempt of fly old Tom Platt to make it appear that the Republican machine has not been recognized in Mayor Low's appointments.

Very clever and characteristic was the way the senior Senator cried: "I didn't get anything out of Fusion, either, except that little Judgeship that went to Julius M. Mayer."

Even that "Fusion" organ, the Times, cannot stomach this phase of the humbug. On August 4, 1903, it published the following list, which shows only part of the patronage enjoyed by Platt's people:

POLICE DEPARTMENT.

Gen. Francis V. Greene, Commissioner.....	\$7,500
Frederick H. E. Ebstein, First Deputy.....	4,000
Gherardi Davis, Third Deputy.....	4,000

DOCK DEPARTMENT.

McDougall Hawkes, Commissioner.....	\$6,000
Jackson Wallace, Deputy Commissioner.....	4,500
Edward Sitterly, Secretary to Commission.....	2,000
Russell Bleecker, Department Secretary.....	4,000

FIRE DEPARTMENT.

Thomas Sturgis, Commissioner.....	\$7,500
William Leary, Department Secretary.....	4,800
Richard H. Laimbeer, Jr., Deputy Commissioner for Brooklyn and Queens.....	5,000
John J. Slater, Secretary.....	2,000

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC CHARITIES.

Homer Folks, Commissioner.....	\$7,500
James Edward Dougherty, Deputy Commissioner.....	5,000

TENEMENT HOUSE DEPARTMENT.

Robert W. De Forest, Commissioner.....	\$7,500
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DEPARTMENT OF TAXES AND ASSESSMENTS..

James L. Wells, President.....	\$8,000
Samuel Strasbourger, Commissioner.....	7,000

BOARD OF ASSESSORS.

Benjamin E. Hall, Assessor.....	\$3,000
Henry B. Ketcham, Assessor.....	3,000

PARK DEPARTMENT.

William R. Willcox, President.....	\$5,000
John E. Eustis, Commissioner.....	5,000
George S. Terry, Secretary.....	4,800

BOARD OF ELECTIONS.

Rudolph C. Fuller, Commissioners.....	\$5,000
Charles B. Page, Secretary.....	5,000

MUNICIPAL CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

Willis L. Ogden, President.....	\$6,000
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CORPORATION COUNSEL'S OFFICE.

John C. Clark, Assistant.....	\$6,000
Charles S. Whitman, Assistant.....	6,000
John W. Hutchinson, Assistant.....	5,000

EXAMINING BOARD OF PLUMBERS.

William Montgomery, Examiner.....	\$1,300
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COURT OF SPECIAL SESSIONS.

Julius M. Mayer, Justice.....	\$9,000
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CITY MAGISTRATES.

Joseph M. Deuel, Magistrate.....	\$7,000
Leroy B. Crane, Magistrate.....	7,000
Alfred E. Ommen, Magistrate.....	7,000
Seward Baker, Magistrate.....	7,000

CIVIL COURT JUSTICES.

William S. Bennett, Justice..... \$6,000
 Julius G. Kremer, Justice..... 6,000

General Greene, the Police Commissioner, has been chairman of the Republican County Committee; his Third Deputy, Gherardi Davis, has been an Assemblyman; Dock Commissioner McDougall Hawkes has been the Republican leader of the Twenty-fifth Assembly District; Richard Laimbeer, Deputy Fire Commissioner for Brooklyn and Queens, has been a Republican Assemblyman; Tax Commissioner Strasbourger is the Republican leader in the Thirty-first District; William R. Willcox, Park Commissioner, ran for Congress on the Republican ticket, and was beaten; Charles B. Page, of the Bureau of Elections, was a Republican State Senator, and many others have been prominent in the ranks of the organization.

POST OFFICE SCANDAL

One Phase of the Record of the Republican Party, Seeking in "Fusion" Guise to "Reform" Our City.

An endless chain of looting, grafting, shake-downs, bribery, and every form of corruption, large or small in its scope, has smirched the Post Office Department of the United States.

It would be well-nigh impossible for the human mind to conceive any new channel through which graft could be obtained. Chaotic is the only word which approximately describes the present status, but the main trend of the conspiracy of graft is known to have been an effort to perpetuate the Republican power through the free rural delivery system and its \$12,000,000 appropriation; at the same time that individuals were raking in their own reward by consistent thievery.

The department in every section was honeycombed with rottenness, and the individual grafting revealed a devilish ingenuity.

Contract looting, exorbitant prices, bribery for office holding, increased salaries, promotion selling, sinecures, conspiracy, collusion, illegal methods and trickery permeated the service.

The oath of office became a dead letter, and the neglect of honest officials to denounce the practices amounted to cowardly political connivance.

Briefly, the sources of the graft were:

Post office boxes, canceling machines, registry time clocks, wagons, mail bags, twine, wrapping paper, pens, pen-holders, rubber stamps, stationery, automatic registers, coal contracts, patent mail bag fasteners, sheet iron mail boxes, patent change-making machines, package boxes, postal locks and devices, the bonding of office holders, the forcing of employees to purchase worthless mining stock, excessive rentals for branch post offices, bribery by get-rich-quick concerns for protection, selling of influence to get favorable opinions from the law department, and even a share of plunder from the sale by the Agricultural Department of inferior seeds at light weight.

Fourth Assistant Postmaster Bristow found that there had been reckless extravagance, collusion on contracts, sale of promotions, and innumerable infractions of the rules of the department. He alleges that chiefs of divisions borrowed money from subordinates; that the latter acted without regard for their superiors, and that there was drunkenness, immorality, petty stealing, total repudiation of civil service, and a network of scandal.

The free rural service was geographically arranged so that it would benefit Republicans alone. The official reports show that four States—Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Ohio had on October 15, 1902, more than one-third of all the rural delivery routes in the United States. These States, represented in Congress by the strongest men in the Republican party, were allotted 3,792 rural delivery routes, out of a total of 11,199.

The deficiency in the Post Office Department, according to Auditor Castle, on July 1, was \$4,617,203, as compared with \$2,961,170 last year. This was attributed to the management of the rural delivery routes by Superintendent August W. Machen, who is under specific indictment for accepting bribes from Groff Brothers, also under arrest, for awarding them the contract for a patent letter box fastener, for which Machen got \$20,000. It is further averred that in all Machen received from the firm \$70,000.

The charge that stores for branch post offices in Manhattan and the Bronx were leased for \$223,900 a year, but which were only worth \$148,550, was also made.

The syndicate for the promotion of officials charged \$25 to \$50, and a monthly percentage on salaries. On March 20, 1903, as many as 1,716 of these promotions were made in the New York post office.

August W. Machen, Superintendent of Rural Delivery, and George W. Beavers, Chief of the Division of Salaries and Allowances, both indicted on many counts are, so far as is yet known, the mediums through which the graft system was worked. Their power was so great that they induced Congress to increase their salaries independently of any superior officer. Beavers also drew a salary from the Postal Clerks' Union.

So far, nearly forty persons in all sections of the country have been indicted and arrested for complicity in the frauds. Among the most prominent of these are State Senator George E. Green, president of the International Time Recording Company and the Doremus Canceled Machine Company, both of which supplied the department with goods; Isaac S. McGrehan and G. H. Huntington, charged with conspiracy and bribery in the sale of package boxes; George and Martha Lorenz and officials of the Postal Lock and Device Company, for paying A. W. Machen a bribe of \$7,000; Former Congressman E. H. Driggs, for having while a member of Congress secured the passage of a contract whereby the government paid \$150 each for "automatic cashiers," that cost \$15 to make, and which proved worthless; George F. Miller, agent of the Brandt-Dent Company, indicted in the same connection; Joseph M. Johns and Daniel V. Miller for conspiracy in protecting get-rich-quick swindling concerns, and accepting a bribe of \$4,500; Thomas McGregor and C. Ellsworth Upton, clerks under Machen, for taking a bribe of \$8,000 for a mail pouch contract.

Owners of apartment houses and hotels complained that they could not get mail boxes unless they purchased mail chutes in which officials were interested, at a cost of \$1,800 each.

President Proctor, of the Civil Service Commission, charged that persons were appointed to the Rural Delivery Department and then transferred to the classified list without examination.

The bonding of 15,000 clerks has been diverted to the Fidelity Title and Deposit Company, of Maryland, of which United States Senator Platt's sons are principal officials.

The story is one long dream of graft and loot.

Seth Low, he has got a fine yacht,
Of money he's got a big pot,
But the people don't care
To have him for a Mayor,
And it's dollars to doughnuts they'll not.

There is an old woman called Low,
Whose pockets run over with dough;
She wants to be Mayor,
But we're going to take care
That she hasn't a ghost of a show.

Vote for Honest Democratic City Government in touch with the wants of the people.

Vote against Republicanism masked as non-partisanship.

LITTAUER'S GLOVE CONTRACTS.

Graft Enjoyed by Friend of the President and the Governor— The Timber of Which "Fusion" Reformers Are Made.

Congressman Lucius Nathan Littauer, whom President Roosevelt has said is his most intimate personal friend, and who is a staunch political adherent of Governor Odell and General Asphalt Greene, has been the storm centre of charges of graft for some months. Papers and reports describing his connection with a series of army glove contracts amounting to \$200,000 a year, are now in the hands of the Attorney-General of the United States, whose opinion has been asked as to whether Littauer violated his oath of office or the law in participating in the profits of the contracts.

Edmund R. Lyon, who formerly conducted a glove factory, with offices at No. 258 Fifth avenue, New York, filed a petition in bankruptcy in April, 1902, and asked for his discharge on June 30, 1903. His liabilities were stated to be \$30,000, with no assets.

Littauer Brothers, of Gloversville, N. Y., a firm consisting of L. N. Littauer, William Littauer, and their brother-in-law, Oscar L. Richards, protested against a discharge, and in the course of his examination, Lyon retaliated by exposing his relations with the Congressman and his firm.

In his testimony Lyon swore that in connection with Littauer Brothers he had from 1897 to 1900, during the entire time of the Spanish-American War, filled contracts with the Assistant Quartermasters' Department of the U. S. Army and the U. S. Marine Corps. They had supplied buckskin gauntlets, muskrat gloves, muskrat caps, cotton duck, pajamas, flannel, and dress caps.

"Littauer Brothers were in with me on the muskrat gauntlets and the muskrat caps," said Lyon.

He explained that the Littauers furnished the buckskin gauntlets, the muskrat gauntlets, and the glove parts.

Documents, letters and written and oral evidence, some in Congressman Littauer's own handwriting, were produced to prove that the latter had attended to the getting of the contracts, used his influence in every way, and had received a share of the profits.

Lyon said he had filled government contracts amounting to half a million dollars, and that Littauer's profit had amounted to about \$30,000.

As any violation of the law renders a contract with the government void Lyon and his bondsmen can be sued for all the money paid on the contracts.

LITTAUER'S PARTNERSHIP PROFITABLE.

The four contracts offered in evidence, showing that William Littauer, brother of L. N., and his brother-in-law, Oscar L. Richards, had been bondsmen for Lyon, contained this stipulation:

"That no member of or delegate to Congress, or any person belonging to or employed in the military service of the United States, is or shall be admitted to any share or part of this contract or to any benefit which may arise therefrom."

"We have introduced in evidence," said A. H. Gleason, counsel for Edmond R. Lyon, "books showing that so long as the connection with Littauer Brothers was maintained, Mr. Lyon did a business of about \$200,000 a year.

"The moment that connection ceased his volume of business dwindled to \$6,000 a year, and he was not even able to employ a bookkeeper."

Mr. Littauer denied that his firm had any interest in the Lyon contracts, but a letter in the Congressman's own handwriting was offered to contradict this. It was written on the paper of the House of Representatives' Committee on Manufactures and dated January 25, 1900. It contained a detailed statement of account between Littauer Brothers and Lyon and said, concerning the balance:

"Of which your share of one-half equals \$1,768.52," and "profits as above \$1,768.52."

Another letter from Mr. Littauer to Lyon, dated May 18, 1898, said: "By to-morrow or Friday night the 1,000 pair special contract will be delivered, and the 577 paid will be delivered by Monday night."

There was plenty of other evidence to show that Lyon and Littauer had profited jointly by Lyon's contracts.

SECRETARY ROOT AS A WHITEWASHER.

On July 7, Secretary of War Root issued an order to the Adjutant-General directing that an investigation be made into the charges made by Lyon in his bankruptcy examination, to ascertain whether the law had been violated.

Colonel Garlington, of the Inspector General's Department, was detailed to make the investigation, and filed his report at the War Department on July 29, 1903. He exonerated all officials who had anything to do with the making of the contract and found that Mr. Littauer was guiltless of wrongdoing.

Secretary Root announced that there appeared to be no evidence that there was any violation of the statute except in one case—the contract of December 7, 1898. There were many consultations with the President upon the subject, and the papers were sent to the Attorney-General, but nothing further was done in the matter.

President Roosevelt said on February 20, 1900:

"I want to tell you that it is a Harvard man who is my most intimate personal friend and who is also my closest political adviser—and that man is Lucius Nathan Littauer."

Congressman Littauer, who represents the Twenty-second District of New York, has served in the 55th, 56th, 57th and 58th Congresses, and has always been a welcome guest at the White House, and was often consulted by the President. Mr. Littauer stands very high in the councils of the Republican Fusion party, and he has always been held up as a model of what a Reformer in public life should be. The people of the City of New York can judge for themselves of the possibilities of "Reform" in a "Fusion" municipal government by the political and personal friends of Congressman Littauer. They are the sponsors and supporters of Republican Candidate Low.

LOW AND ROOSEVELT.

From his office all so snug,
And his thousand-dollar rug;
In an auto and a yacht that beat creation;
Mayor Low he went one day,
Where Roosevelt at Oyster Bay,
Made a toy of the Navy of the Nation.

Teddy's scheme and plan
To make New York Republican,
'Spite of gloves, P. O., graft and things provoking;
Was the theme of which they talked,
But the "Fusion" steed has balked,
And now they're not in any mood for joking.

Vote for Honest Democratic City Government in touch with the wants of the people.

Honest Democracy, purged of Deveryism, welcomes the return of her worthy sons.

THE REPUBLICAN STATE MACHINE.

Some Reflections Upon Its Membership and Injustices to the
City of New York, Together with Special Observations
Concerning Gov. Benjamin B. Odell, Jr., Its
Would-be Boss.

I.

For ten years the cities of this State have groaned under the oppressions of the Republican State machine. The territory of Greater New York has from its very richness been the special prey of this political organization so suggestive of the banditti who swoop down on the Italian towns. At its retreat in the Albany Capitol its leaders have planned their attacks and laid upon our citizens staggering burdens of taxation. They have compelled us to stand and deliver, and having appropriated our purse have divided it among themselves and their followers in the rural districts up the State. They have whetted the appetite of the farmer for a reduced tax-rate and despoiled the dwellers of the great city to satisfy his hunger. They have done more.

They have banned our personal liberties, prescribing what we shall eat and drink, the raiment we shall wear, even how we shall shave, pull and plug our teeth and embalm our dead.

There seems to be no limit to their ingenuity and audacity and no thought of the day of reckoning which is bound to come.

They are a hybrid crew, the leaders of this Republican machine, foregathered for public plunder and personal gain—the crafty Platt, the sinister Odell, the marauder Raines, Malby and Aldridge, the light-fingered; Jotham Allds, the addle-pated; Quigg, the speckled, with their retinues of mercenaries, among them petty pilferers of local treasuries, robbers of the great State chest on Capitol Hill, burrowers for public contracts, and Buddenseiks always in the performance of the same. Every morning for four months in the year this Republican machine opens with prayer its deliberations in the State Capitol, and every night the sun goes down on some newly hatched scheme for the discomfiture of our great city. Truly, a combination of Puritan and blackleg sufficient to make the most stolid Knickerbocker shiver.

ODELL WORSE THAN PLATT.

II.

Chief of these figures now in the public eye, and insanely ambitious to seize the staff when Platt shall have set it down is Gov. Benjamin B. Odell, Jr.

Bad as the Republican machine has been under the leadership of Platt, infinitely worse it must be if Odell's aspirations are gratified and he acquires the complete control, as he has long been secretly planning.

It cannot be doubted that he already pictures himself the chief of a band that will rival Quay's, and dreams of a Republican citadel hereabouts as strong as Philadelphia. To accomplish these ends he has sought by every means in his power during the last three years to strengthen his personal hold upon the Machine. He has not been at all times successful, for Platt has kept an eye upon his methods, and here and there has blocked his personal game. Odell has managed, however, to establish a *modus vivendi* with our "unlovable" Mayor Low, the consequences of which the Democrats of this city and State will be realized speedily and sorrowfully if the Republican-Fusion

ticket should happen to be elected this Fall. The popular distrust of Odell in this vicinity was extraordinarily manifested when he ran for Governor last year. Another similar demonstration in the Mayoralty contest this year will emphasize the hostility of the city toward Odell, the Affiliated Good and the Republican State Machine, and pave the way for the disappearance of them all from public life.

III.

A glance at the career of this would-be Boss shows much that can not be commended to the emulation of the Knickerbocker youth. Indeed, there is much in it deserving of honest condemnation by both Republicans and Democrats. Odell's has been "a commercial life" chiefly devoted to "the ice and electric lighting interests of Newburg," so runs his brief biography in the directories of the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses. To these interests this Chevalier of Industry has since added others, notably in the steamboat, electric railway and grocery business, so that when he became Governor in 1900 he was for an up-State citizen a tolerably rich man.

BOSS ODELL'S BEGINNING.

The man who wants franchises for lighting or laying rails or who seeks to "cut short corners" on the public has always seemed to accomplish his desires more readily in Newburg and other interior cities by mixing in local politics. The Junior Odell quite early in his career noted this fact and aspired to be the Republican Boss of his city, county and Congressional district. The Dickey boys, Captain Joe, now a State Railroad Commissioner, and Colonel William, now on the Supreme bench, were practically in control of the local machine, and young Odell made poor headway in butting in. Battle after battle was fought between them, and not until these veterans were good and ready to lay their armor down did Odell succeed them as a political force. It was during this period that Odell laid the foundation for his subsequent reputation as an Albany lobbyist. There was a considerable African vote in Newburg in those days, and any old Newburger can repeat the stories of how "Ben bought the 'niggers' and rounded them up in his caucuses and at the general elections."

IV.

Such a strenuous politician was clearly of use to Platt's State Machine, and in the nineties he was called up higher and made chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican State Committee, a position in which his commercial instincts had full play. He knew the corporations which would willingly be assessed for the Republican State Machine and the methods best calculated to bring the unwilling ones into line. The Republican Legislature was the whip with which he chastised the recreants and the instrument with which he rewarded the incorporated friends of the Machine, and every Winter he was to be found at Albany promoting and preventing legislation. He made his headquarters in the room of the Lieutenant Governor on the Senate side and in those of the Speaker on the Assembly side, and there he kept a critical eye on the movements of the law-makers, cajoling them or threatening their political lives, according to the conditions confronting pending legislation. If kisses and kicks were insufficient, and money had to be used, Odell was wise and skilful, knowing there was no less weakness in some Caucasians than in the Ethiopian when it came down to a question of selling his vote.

V.

ODELL THE LOBBYIST.

Those were the days referred to by former State Senator John Ford, the reputed father of the Special Franchise Tax Law, when he told the City Club last Winter of the part played by Odell at the time the measure was introduced in the Legislature. Said the Senator:

"Roosevelt was then Governor and Benjamin B. Odell, Jr., was a plain, every-day trafficker in legislation, a hanger-on in the lobbies at Albany. He was the man to be

seen then if you wanted any legislation, and equally the man to be seen if you wanted to stop any. It was then a recognized fact that Benjamin B. Odell, Jr., was the dispenser of legislation at Albany, in the name of and by and for the Republican State Machine.

"I remember his calling me aside, one day, and saying: 'You can't pretend to belong to the Republican organization of this State and expect to have a bill like this franchise tax bill passed without first submitting it to Senator Platt and getting his O. K. on it.'

"And besides I want you, Mr. Ford, to understand that I myself am interested in franchises."

The Senator ignored Odell's intimation that he had better "pull out," and, of course, there was a subsequent coolness between them, and the Republican State Machine saw to it later that the Senator's political candle was snuffed out.

Four years later, Mr. Odell, no longer a "hanger-on in the lobbies" and "a plain, every-day trafficker in legislation," but the Governor of the State, in his annual message to the Legislature urged the repeal of this special franchise tax law because it was "vexatious" and a source of great annoyance, alike to the tax gatherer and the corporations assessed. It only remains to say that the Court of Appeals has confirmed the constitutionality of this "vexatious" measure, and the public may expect ultimately to receive some millions of dollars in taxes from the corporations which have been so sadly annoyed.

* * *

ODELL THE COMMERCIAL GOVERNOR.

VI.

Exit now, Odell the citizen. Enter Odell, the Governor of the Empire State.

It has always been the saying of slick Republican politicians up-the-State who have become discredited for some roguery, either at Albany or at home, that the proper time to seek "vindication" is at a Presidential election. As such a time they are lost sight of in the greater issues involved, and they come back into office on the strongly rushing tide. On the crest of the big waves of 1900, then, perched this "trafficker in legislation," and was flung into the Executive Chamber by a plurality of something like 112,000 votes. To the galleries filled with the Truly Good he now addressed himself with such success as to win the favorable opinion of those eminent expounders of civic faith and political righteousness, the Evening Post and the New York Times, without whose commendation life is dress alike to the uninitiated in public affairs and to the hardened, who, like our Governor at that time, think they are seriously trying to lead a reformed life. The New York SUN be it remarked, was never fooled about this moral up-lift of Odell, and was never, unlike its illustrious contemporaries, compelled to reverse itself in its judgments of the man. Wherefore, the sayings of the SUN as a stalwart Republican newspaper are mighty illuminating, not to say critical, and therefore all the more valuable, in any attempt to portray the relations of this would-be Boss to a Republican State Machine.

* * *

VII.

The Governor mortified the flesh and in the society of his new admirers was good for about a month after he took office. Then he emerged from his joyless surroundings and proceeded to do some things which immediately attracted attention.

He has been doing them ever since, and their ultimate purpose has been, almost without exception, the establishment of himself as the sole Boss of the Republican State Machine. He disguised his real purpose, however, behind Economy and a Reduced Tax Rate, and boldly began to centralize and bring under his own control the powers of the State institutions established for the insane, the poor and the sick. In the hands of men loyal to himself the hundreds of employees and the hundreds of

thousands of dollars annually expended for supplies and medicines would prove powerful instrumentalities in the up-building of a new Boss for the Republican State Machine.

ODELL GRABS STATE CHARITIES.

The abolition of the Boards of Managers of the State hospitals for the insane was first decided upon, and in spite of the protests of publicists and of the friends of these institutions he "jammed" through the Legislature a bill which vested their management in the State Commission in Lunacy. The Manhattan Hospital and the Long Island Hospital, both in New York, and nine others up the State were thus "centralized" with their 24,000 unfortunate inmates.

* * *

VIII.

Abram S. Hewitt voiced the general disapproval of Governor Odell's course regarding the insane hospital in his open letter to the Governor, saying:

"Apparently you have overlooked considerations of a humanitarian nature, which are far more important than economy in the public expenditures, however desirable this may be.

* * *

ODELL IN A DANGEROUS GAME.

IX.

The New York TIMES, which had now adjusted its glasses and obtained a proper perspective, had this to say of the Governor and the political scheme embodied in his lunacy hospital measure:

"Mr. Odell ought to know by this time that a very large number of the best citizens in all parts of the State have reluctantly been forced to conclude that his plans are neither wise nor pressed in good faith. The saving he professes to seek he will get, if at all, at the cost of efficiency in a most important branch of the State service, and he will get it at the far greater cost of injecting partisan politics into that service. It is a shrewd notion to cloak the patronage with the profession of economy, but there are too many intelligent and zealous citizens, thoroughly informed as to the facts, to permit such a notion being generally accepted. We fear that the Governor is playing a dangerous game—dangerous for the State if it succeed and dangerous for him in any case. He is incurring a grave risk in stretching out the strong hand of the party leader to grasp as patronage the disposal of offices that should be kept, as they now are, free from politics. The better opinion of the State will not brook that. We hardly think that he has weighed the final effect of his policy. It would be well for him to do so before it is too late."

* * *

X.

The Governor's next move was upon the salaried employees of the State Charitable Institutions by the passage of a bill to "regulate" annually just prior to election the salaries of the thousand odd employees of those institutions. This was more centralization with the ultimate purpose of stimulating campaign assessments by these employees. To the Fiscal Supervisor of the State, an officer already appointed to supervise the purchases of supplies, and payments for the same, to the institutions, was delegated this new power. Of this gentleman named Bender, who was one of the products of Albany County's peculiar Republican politics, the SUN has had this to say:

"Column after column could be written about Bender and his connection with Governor Odell in the management of the charities institutions of the State of New York as a political machine in the interest of Governor Odell, not to say anything about the purchase of supplies a la Matthews & Co., (the Governor's grocery partners at Newburgh.)"

* * *

ODELL, THE GROCERY MAN.

Upon the accomplishment of this last move of the Governor's, the New York SUN pointed out that the new law was framed to transfer



The Campaign Ghost Dance.

The Republican Indians having assumed a supposed disguise of "Fusion" feathers are indulging in a veritable "Ghost Dance" in this campaign. In their mummeries and incantations they do not even deceive themselves. With Deveryism cast out by the Democrats, while its head and front is supported and indorsed by Republican County Chairman Bruce and his associates, the Democracy to-day is farther from the conditions of 1901 than the "Fusion" administration is with its admitted failure to abolish "graft."

With its management in new hands and the great numbers of men of position and influence returning to its ranks, the Democratic organization cannot be assailed to-day on the dead issue of alleged absentee leadership.

With a record of two years of an adverse administration unable to make the promised revelations of corruption and extravagance or to carry out the threats of condign punishments for accused Democratic officials of 1898 to 1902, the latter stand to-day in a better light before the public than the incumbent "Fusionists," who are loudly claiming retrenchment on a record of extravagance and improvement on a record of inefficiency.

With a Republican President, a Republican Governor, all the Republican bosses and the Republican press scheming for the renomination of Mayor Low with no concealment of the fact that their eyes are on the Presidential fight of 1904, all pretence of non-partisanship falls from the imposture of "Fusion."

All of these issues are as dead as Adam, and even as ghosts they have no power to terrify an infant in politics of the tribe of Acorns.

On with the Republican Ghost Dance! It is a diverting spectacle.





to the Governor all the powers now vested in the Salary Classification Committee, and thereby give him the absolute control of the entire personnel of the charities service. Under the title of "Glorious News for the Inmates," it ironically put its congratulations on record thus:

"This is an admirable proposition, if for no other reason than that it implies a guarantee of the quality of the food supplies of the lunatic and other unhappy wards of the State of New York. With the alimentation of the State institutions confined solely to Matthews & Co., the Governor will be able personally to vouch for the excellence and purity of the goods and satisfy himself that a proper price is being paid for them.

"We take it that there is no indiscretion in our commending to public confidence the eminent house of Matthews & Co., of Newburgh, with its quiet, sedate and industrious associate, the distinguished epicier of the State House at Albany. Prime are its coffees, its Oolongs and Souchongs, its self-raising hams and its sugar-cured flour, and likewise the countless other commodities that make up the bill of fare of the State's various dependents.

"Happy, too, the many philanthropists from whose shoulders our unselfish Governor takes the heavy burden of administering these State charities. Without other reward than the consciousness of good deeds done, they have given their time and labor to the cause, and it can well be imagined with what feelings of gratitude and pious resignation they see their thankless tasks assumed by the Chief Executive of the State.

"How the eleemosynary charges of the Newburgh Charities Trust will thrive during the next two years, anyhow!"

* * *

XI.

When it is remembered that certain very disagreeable disclosures made within a year connected Gov. Odell with the grocery firm of Matthews & Co., of Newburgh, as a sort of special partner; that the firm has been furnishing State institutions with supplies; that the sum total of supplies for these institutions mount up annually into millions, and that a Bender, under the Governor's eye, attends to the supervision of these expenditures, then can readily be understood the full significance of these centralizing tendencies of our Governor.

Thus the New York SUN, with its accustomed directness, emphasized the growing distrust of the would-be Boss of the Republican State Machine, March 24, 1903:

ODELL, MATTHEWS & CO.

Odell.—"Many Republicans who have nothing to hope from organization affiliations are sorry that Gov. Odell, while Governor of the State of New York, has been engaged in commercial and financial enterprises. They say that other Governors, Republicans and Democrats, within their knowledge, going back to 1856, have kept free of such entanglements while in office.

"The connection of Gov. Odell with the firm of Matthews & Co., was a source of sorrow and humiliation to many Republicans in the last campaign.

"The Governor's alleged connection with other business enterprises whose prosperity he could influence is also a matter of distress to some of the Governor's friends. These things are matters of daily talk among Republicans in the street and in the clubs, and among men who would not desire to speak unfairly or unjustly to the Governor of the State of New York, whether he be a Republican or a Democrat."

ODELL'S BANK ACCOUNT.

XI.

Somewhat more severe was the SUN in its contemplation of Gov. Odell, a month later, when it took its readers into its confidence in this language:

"The Hon. Benjamin B. Odell has elected while Governor to increase his bank account rather than his standing as a public man.

"His management of legislation touching the State Charities and the exertion of his influence with the government of New York City toward obtaining the lease to his steamboat company of Pier 24 forbid any reasonable doubt of this bewildering fact.

"Never was there in the Republican party more urgent need of the spirit of sobriety and rectitude, militant and visible, than there is to-day."

* * *

ODELL AND NEW YORK CITY JUDGES.

XII.

The City of New York especially has had cause to hold our unscrupulous Governor in unkindly remembrance. His attempt to raid its judicial machinery and attach it to his own political fortunes was not, it is true, successful, but that was not the Governor's fault, and we may expect to see it repeated should the Republican-Fusion combination chance to influence the election of an Assembly which shall again be completely dominated by the Governor next Winter.

The Governor's plea that the calendars were congested and the courts needed relief was true enough, but the methods he proposed showed his insincerity. He would have had Judges from up-the-State assigned by the Governor to duty in this vicinity, thus depriving our Judiciary of the right of regulating its own affairs. He would have had up-the-State county Judges, two-thousand-dollars-a-year-men, come down to the city and take hold of seventeen-thousand-five-hundred-dollar jobs, for which they were manifestly unfitted. Of course these propositions raised a storm of indignation. Clearly he was aiming at the possession of the largest possible control over the Judiciary through the channel of patronage.

His motives were the same as those of the monarch of whom it was declared in the Declaration of Independence:

"He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries."

Caught with the goods on him, the Governor beat a retreat. It seemed to the Sun that the Governor's situation was "painfully suggestive of a political leader who has become badly 'rattled' by a consciousness of his own error in stretching out for the control of a co-ordinate branch of the State government."

But, said the New York TIMES: "Gov. Odell is bold, the Legislature is subservient. He may secure the power he grasps at. But that he or the Legislature or the Republican party should escape responsibility for these acts of usurpation is impossible. * * * Gov. Odell should not be permitted to go one step further in the path of usurpation upon which he has entered."

* * *

ODELL'S VOTING MACHINES.

XIII.

The efforts of Gov. Odell and his friends of the Republican State Machines to foist upon this city an expenditure of \$807,400 in the purchase of voting machines will no more be forgotten than his attempt upon the Judiciary. Something like 1,463 machines would have been required and their cost was to have been \$550 each. There were at that time 19 voting machines in the market, but the State limited the purchase to two of them. These were manufactured by two companies which were believed to have an "understanding" with one another, wholly politico-commercial and entirely satisfactory to each. The factory of one was in Chautauqua County, and a leading director was one of Gov. Odell's political lieutenants in that highly Republicanized section

of the State. Newspaper publicity and such statements as this by Elections Commissioner John R. Voorhis frightened the voting-machine lobby out of the field.

Said Mr. Voorhis: "I do believe that the City of New York should not be clubbed by the Legislature into spending nearly a million of dollars for voting machines. We can afford to wait a year or two. The makers of the machines are constantly making improvements, and yet we have to-day no perfect machines. The city's hands, however, are tied by such legislation. Out of 19 machines it might choose from, it is limited to one of two styles."

* * *

MULCTING THE METROPOLIS.

XIV.

With Gov. Odell's many schemes for mulcting the vast interests of this city and wiping out the direct State tax to the especial benefit of the farmers in the Republican interior of this State, the intelligent taxpayers of the vicinity must be tolerably familiar.

His plan for taxing mortgages was declared by the financial world to be essentially unsound, and he was promptly certified as taxation-mad. But there is a certain method in the madness of any politician who would rob Peter on the hither side of the Harlem River to pay the debts of Paul who tills the soil beyond.

Said the Governor in reviewing his extraordinary policies of taxation before the maidens and the mature men, at the Altamont Fair, Albany County, this Fall:

"We are all more or less dependent upon the prosperity of the great City of New York and its millions of inhabitants. The people of the cities contribute the greatest part of the State's revenues. True, this revenue is used for purposes which may be considered, in some instances, as purely local, but which will be found to be based upon the sure foundation of the greatest good to the greatest number." He might truthfully have added that his policy contemplated the payment of all the State's revenues by these same cities, if the farmers continued him in office long enough to accomplish his beneficent purpose.

* * *

ODELL AND LOW.

XV.

Hostile comment is not wholly confined to Democrats, as we have already seen. Note this opinion of the Republican POST-EXPRESS, of Rochester, in April last:

"Republicans and all interested in beating Tammany Hall next Fall and retaining the State a year from next Fall in the Republican columns are not averse, but rather glad, to sound the tocsin, and, if necessary, put upon Gov. Odell and Mayor Low the strictures which blind egotism, blundering ignorance and all self-sufficiency deserve."

XVI.

One more vivid contribution from the New York SUN of March 24, 1903, and the curtain may be dropped:

"The newspapers printed the other day articles to the effect that 'Gov. Odell has cleared out the lobby at Albany!'"

"This statement was one of the most truthful that the New York City newspapers had printed in many years.

"There is now no Third House at Albany—there has not been since Mr. Odell became Governor of the State of New York."

* * *

ODELL'S DEGREE OF LL. D.

XVII.

Such is the Governor upon whom Columbia University conferred the hitherto respected degree of LL. D. Such is the Republican State Ma-

chine, curiously enough overlooked by Prof. Boyce in his search for excrescences upon the American Commonwealth, and of which Odell is its most arrogant product.

A WARNING TO THIS CITY.

Whether Eat-him-up-Platt or Rip-the-old-man-up-the-back Odell wins their struggle for the Bosship of this machine is of little moment to this city, conscious as its citizens must be that when rogues fall out honest men are likely to get their just dues.

But it is of consequence that the Republican machine itself should receive a body-blow this Fall, and the way be prepared for throwing off its yoke. A vote for the Republican-Fusion ticket is a vote for its preservation. A vote for the Democratic ticket is a vote for its suppression, the destruction of those centralizing tendencies which it has cultivated and the restoration of those principles of justice, equality and honesty enunciated by the immortal Jefferson.

"FUSION" FALSE TO CIVIL SERVICE.

Citizens' Union Reformer Gets \$6,000 Salary Tacked on Where None Was Paid Before.

In the campaign of 1901 the "Fusionists" made extravagant pretensions of devotion to the cause of Civil Service Reform. They particularly disclaimed any intention of office seeking for themselves. Many of them were supposed to be wealthy and entirely above the idea of looking for a salary. After January 1, 1902, there was a remarkable change of heart in the ranks of these pretenders. Beginning with the staff at the Low headquarters a grand hunt for appointments was entered into. Every member of that staff down to the man who opened the door succeeded in getting his name on the public pay roll.

Mayor Low offered no obstruction to this change of front. He stultified himself by causing the Civil Service Laws to be suspended for thirty days and procured the approval of the State Board to amendments designed to increase the number of places in the non-competitive class.

The pressure for office from his supporters continued to be so severe that the Mayor complacently asked the Legislature to pass a "sweep" bill, allowing his heads of departments to dismiss employees without any charges or hearing, thus withdrawing all the protections and safeguards of the Civil Service laws from them. This bill also provided that the Board of Estimate, where the Mayor's power is supreme, should have the fixing of salaries of subordinates in the city departments.

Even the New York Tribune was forced to condemn the Mayor in this. Under the head "Hungry for Spoils," it said editorially:

"The idea that a non-partisan administration, pledged to the maintenance of the merit system, should wish to commit suicide by legislating its political opponents in the departments out of the protection of the Civil Service law is unthinkable."

The rest of the Fusion organs expressed the same surprise, and were unkind enough to recall the solemn promises of the Low campaign that party politics would be eliminated from his administration and that merit and efficiency would be the sole tests for obtaining or retaining office in the Fusion government.

COL. OGDEN'S SALARY GRAB.

Willis L. Ogden, one of the chief fugelmen of "Fusion" in the Low campaign, and a pretender to all of the virtues of Low himself, was selected as the head of the Municipal Civil Service Commission.

This office was never before a salaried one, but for Mr. Ogden, Mayor Low put it on the salary list; and this "Reformer," whose political activities were professedly inspired by pure public spirit, has since enjoyed the receipt of \$6,000 a year. His administration, as compared with his predecessor, who drew no salary, is a distinct failure.

More charges against the conduct of the office have been made during his incumbency than ever before. Examination papers have been peddled on the street, and applicants for appointment have been accustomed to figure upon the expense of securing positions on the Civil Service eligible lists.

Mr. Ogden has also proved most compliant to all of the wishes of the "Fusion" heads of departments. Some examples of appointments made by virtue of his accommodating spirit are as follows:

William Patterson, an Iowa school teacher, through the efforts of Commissioner Robert De Forest, was appointed Register of Statistics in the Tenement House Commission on a non-competitive examination, which was the veriest farce.

A protege of John McGaw Woodbury received the appointment as mate of a scow in the Street Cleaning Department one afternoon at 1 o'clock, took a Civil Service examination at 2 o'clock and at 3 o'clock was in charge of a boat.

Peter Aitkin was appointed Supervisor of Complaints, and Henry A. Gulden was made Superintendent of Incumbrances. It is not known whether they ever took any examination, for the Civil Service Commission refused to answer the questions of the reporters on the subject.

DOORS OPEN TO NON-RESIDENTS.

In the Bureau of Sewers, Borough of Manhattan, a recent examination for Assistant Engineer was held without complying with the law, that every man in the bureau eligible for appointment should be allowed to take the examination. Mr. Otto Huffland, in whose behalf this dodge was worked, is a Republican, and resides in Mt. Vernon.

Mayor Low's Commissioners of Accounts appointed John K. Hayward, of Missouri, Chief Accountant, and Clarence Devlin, of Albany, Confidential Secretary in the office of the Commissioners of Accounts. Both places are in the non-competitive class. The Commissioners had so many others to take care of that they applied to have thirty more positions placed in that class; but Mayor Low was afraid to allow this request to be complied with. A compromise was reached by giving the Commissioners sixteen jobs at \$150 a month each. Afterward the Commissioners returned to the charge with the request for thirty more non-competitive places, with salaries ranging from \$2,000 to \$3,000 per annum, and this time were successful. The Commissioners refused to make any reply when asked why these men had not been required to take a competitive examination.

The system of peddling Civil Service examination papers resulted in the arrest and conviction of Charles S. Benisch on a charge of selling an examination paper for \$400 to enable an applicant to secure a position in one of the departments.

Last October the State Civil Service Commission made a scathing report upon the administration of the New York Civil Service Commission. The methods of the local board were discussed, and Commissioner Ogden was shown up in a very unpleasant light. Any mere office-holding politician would have resigned his position and got out; but Colonel Ogden held on tenaciously, and is there yet. As he has the full support of Mayor Low, despite the revelations, he continues to run the board to suit himself.

LOW AND OGDEN'S EXTRAVAGANCE.

The falsity of the "Fusion" pretensions in the matter of Civil Service Reform is further shown by a little examination of the appropriations for the department under them as compared with those under the previous administration.

The Civil Service Bureau appropriation for 1901 was \$56,000, and part of that was returned to the city treasury.

The appropriation for 1902 was \$98,000, and an additional amount had to be granted.

The appropriation for 1903 was \$100,000, and an additional amount will be asked for.

The appropriation asked for in 1904 is about \$116,000.

The sum of \$5,000 has been spent for what is called monitor service in the present year. In many cases the proportion of monitors to applicants has been about one to four. Each monitor receives \$5 a day. These persons have not been appointed from the eligible lists, and a large number of them have been residents from other States. One or two individuals are continually on the list, and seem to have been consistently favored.

Long periods of time have elapsed between examinations and the establishment of eligibles. Notably in such examinations as attendance officers, searchers, process servers, clerks in the Tenement House Department, foremen in the Fire Department, and medical inspectors. These delays were always co-incidental with the requirements of some scheme in regard to appointments by the Fusion heads of departments.

LOW'S CIVIL SERVICE ADMINISTRATION DENOUNCED.

The first year's record of "Fusion" in the Civil Service Bureau has not been improved upon. What that record was is shown by the scathing language used in a letter to Mayor Low by Elliott H. Goodwin, secretary of the Executive Committee of the Civil Service Reform Association, under date September 1, 1902. Among the bricks which were thrown by Mr. Goodwin in that letter are the following:

"If the knowledge of and belief in the principles of Civil Service Reform and their efficiency in promoting good government when applied by competent administrators, rested upon no surer foundation than that afforded by the conduct of the present local commission no answer could be made to the open and avowed enemies of Civil Service Reform as a practical and effective means of bettering the public service."

"Whether care be had to the character or to the cost of the work the inefficiency of the commission is marked, as shown by the following comparison:

Cost in the Federal service per person examined.....	\$2.72
Cost in New York and Brooklyn before consolidation,	
per person	4.74
Under the present New York City Commission, per	
person	6.76

"This increased expense would be a matter of small importance if there were a corresponding or even a measurable increase in the efficiency of the administration as compared with the Federal Civil Service or the Civil Service of New York in 1897. The very opposite is the fact.

"This association has repeatedly called attention to the injury to the public business and the great harm to civil service reform due to the expensive and inefficient methods of the present City Civil Service Commission.

"The commission has entertained approximately 300 appeals for re-rating the markings of its examiners and has granted re-rating to more than one-sixth of those asking for it. Taking less than 50 of such re-ratings we find that they resulted to the prejudice of more than 1,450 candidates already on the eligible lists.

"Such re-rating is not only an abuse in itself, it is an injustice to all the other candidates. Naturally they attribute the result to 'influence.' And why not, when the results attained are precisely those which 'influence' would attempt to secure, and if a Civil Service Commission were abandoned 'influence' would secure?

"The commission has not only shown its lack of confidence in its own methods, but it has largely lost the confidence of the public, especially those willing to seek positions in the public service through open competitive methods.

"This commission had larger powers than any of its predecessors, and it had a great increase of membership, thus making possible subdivision of labor and a systematizing of it. It was clothed with ample authority to investigate the different abuses of the service and to expose and devise proper remedies. We do not think the commission has adequately met its opportunities.

"To write this letter has been a painful duty. Its purpose is to express some of the reasons calling for a prompt and great improvement in the efficiency of the local administration of the civil service law."

Secretary Goodwin's letter, of course, made no impression upon Mayor Low. His arrangement to pay a salary of \$6,000 a year to Willis L. Ogden, a Citizens' Union pillar, as head of the Civil Service Commission where no salary had ever been paid before, was sufficient evidence that the devotion to Civil Service Reform as understood by the Reform Association had no part in his political plans after the time for making campaign promises was over.

LAW VIOLATED FOR DE FOREST.

Some of the most flagrant violations of the Civil Service law have occurred in connection with the Tenement House Commission during De Forest's administration. "Professor" Patterson of Iowa was "railroaded" into a job in direct violation of the law. The "professor" came on here "with his job in his pocket." He took a so-called examination one day and went to work the next. The examination consisted of six hypothetical questions and had no bearing on his position as "Registrar of Statistics." About 50 people had filed applications to take the examination for the position, and when inquiries were made by the waiting ones the Civil Service people said the position had been filled and there was no need of a competitive examination. Thus a non-resident landed in a good position and residents of the city were debarred from even taking an examination. Patterson is mixed up in the stories of Tenement House Commission furniture scandals with Veiller, the Deputy Commissioner.

But Patterson is not the only one from Iowa. He had been holding his place only a few weeks when he sent for Forrest A. Hirlleman to come on and help "look after the poor people of the tenements."

The quoted phrase is a standing joke in that department. Hirlleman landed in New York one morning and went to work the next. He also took a non-competitive examination, and draws a salary of \$1,500 a year as a "Supervising Inspector." He spends his time loafing around the office, never inspecting anything but his pay check.

Charles B. Ball is designated as a "Chief Inspector of Tenements" at \$3,000 per year. Ball came on from Washington, D. C., where he was and is still connected with the Health Board. It is not recorded that he ever took an examination of any kind. He spends half of his time in Washington, and it is said he draws a salary there as a Sanitary Inspector. There are no tenements in Washington or Iowa, and it really doesn't matter, for of the eight Supervising Inspectors and five Chief Inspectors only one ever goes out to see if the inspectors are doing their work. Ball's place is merely a political snap, and he was recommended by Roosevelt, who was once a Civil Service reformer and formerly a member of the United States Civil Service Commission.

The law has been violated in the Tenement House Commission in many ways. Over 60 per cent. of the total appointments are people recommended by the Charity Organization Society, and they have been given the preference, although they were at the middle or bottom of the eligible list. In several cases clerks in the office, who were on the eligible list for promotion, were ordered to stand aside for charity workers, and the law on promotions was wholly ignored.

OGDEN DOMINATED BY M'ANENY.

Col. Willis L. Ogden is the president of the Civil Service Commission, according to the City Record. When he was appointed he told Low that his business interests would suffer if he devoted his whole time to the Commission. According to the newspapers of the past year, the Colonel's business has not suffered in the least by any attention he has given to his department.

The real head of the Commission is George McAneny, the secretary. He was formerly connected with the Civil Service Reform Association. His salary as secretary is \$6,000 a year. As is the case with several other reformers, he thought he knew all about the Commission as soon as he got in the place. His usurpation of the powers of the Commission and insisting upon construing the rules to suit his own desires caused many letters of complaint to be written to the Commissioners.

McAneny is the man who invented the little political joker as the "non-competitive examination," which is in reality no examination at all. The non-competitive examination has been a great thing for the Fusionists. If a head of a department wished to place a friend the scheme worked was to send down to McAneny for one of his famous non-competitive examinations, and McAneny was always willing to oblige, as he occasionally had a friend who wanted a position. In several instances appointments were made through this scheme, and when people whose names were on the lists called to ask about the date of the regular examination they were invariably treated as intruders, and in some cases were insulted.

McAneny is the man who invented the little political joker, the in which he spoke of the great evils that would come to the city if the competitive examination idea was not carried out. Since then he seems to have changed his views if the number of non-competitive appointments made is any criterion.

McAneny refused to show public records of examinations and appointments, and thus avoided answering many awkward questions. In many cases of non-competitive examinations the appointment was suppressed, and this enabled the appointee to be at work long before the appointment was known to the other applicants for that particular position.

The press of the city, particularly the New York Press and Brooklyn Citizen, criticized McAneny severely for the manner in which he conducted the affairs of the Commission.

McAneny is a Republican henchman, and has favored his party in every way possible.

MORE CIVIL SERVICE ABUSES.

Under the head of "Leak in the Civil Service worked by Politicians," the Brooklyn EAGLE of February 22, 1902, published a startling story that from some employee in the office of the Civil Service Commission certain data and information regarding examinations was being furnished systematically to certain political leaders identified with the Greater New York Democracy and the Coffey Democracy. The article said:

"According to the EAGLE'S information, the leaders of the Greater New York Democracy and the Brooklyn Democracy are in direct touch with the doings of the Civil Service Commission and are furnished with all the information necessary to the attainment of their ends at first hand. It is said that not an eligible list is ever prepared by the Civil Service Commission, which, before it is scrutinized by any one else or ever is made public, is not exhibited to certain representatives of the leaders of these two organizations or to the leaders themselves.

"No appointment is ever made, it is further asserted, without the same men being acquainted with the information that such an appointment is about to be made. No examination is announced without these men being first apprised of it and opportunity given to them to acquaint their constituents of it.

"Nor do the methods of the political leaders who, it is said, are interested in this scheme, stop here. Attempts have been made to coerce persons who have undertaken and passed Civil Service examinations into joining the organizations, with the accompanying implied threat that if they do not comply with the demands made on them they will never succeed in being appointed."

When these charges were laid before the Civil Service Commission they said they had heard of such things. What have they done to stop the "leaks."

"FUSION'S" BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION.

Philip and Mark Cowen Illustrate What It Means When Reformers Are in Office.

The Cowen family—that is Philip Cowen and Mark Cowen—attained some prominence in the Fusion administration.

Philip was appointed Supervisor of the City Record by Mayor Low. His duties were to supply all the city departments with stationery and to supervise the printing of the city's official newspaper known as the City Record.

Cowen had not been in office long before he displayed gross incompetence. As Low said in a resolution, "He failed to have a mastery of circumstances," and "his lack of the administrative gift was the most conspicuous."

Cowen was formally charged with restricting competition to favored bidders and giving large "emergency" orders to his friends. His books showed a deficiency of over \$200,000. As Secretary of the Board of City Record he was obliged to stand up and read the charges against himself. The newspapers pounded him unmercifully and blamed Low for not ascertaining Cowen's utter lack of business capability before appointing him head of such an important city department.

Cowen probably thought that, amid the almost innumerable scandals of the Reform administration, he might possibly escape further publicity. But he was mistaken. The newspapers renewed their attacks on him, and two months after the chief charges were preferred, Cowen handed in his "answer." Cowen's reply to the charges was in the form of a 104-page parti-colored book. He showed up other members of Low's cabinet in one tint and upheld himself in another. The extravagant style of the book was only another illustration of Cowen's reckless expenditure of the city's money—for the cost of printing a few copies of this edition "de luxe" was over \$500, and the city had to pay the bill, of course.

After several secret meetings of the Board of City Record, and some more pounding by the papers, Cowen was allowed to "resign," and Low was so grateful Cowen had got out of the limelight of publicity that he promptly voted to give him a thick coat of the beautiful "Reform" tint of whitewash. Even the staid old Evening Post was forced to say that the "Cowen incident could not fail to be humiliating to the Low administration."

The other Cowen who assists in "humiliating" the Reform administration is known as Mark Cowen, and is in the uniform and supply business on Lafayette place. About the time the Tenement House Commission was organized in the early months of the Reform regime, Mark formed an "alliance" with Veiller, the Deputy Commissioner. Philip had a "good thing" in the City Record office and saw things were so easy he tipped Mark off to go after the graft in furnishing uniforms, fedora hats and badges. Accordingly the latter sold the city lettered hat bands at 90 cents that were worth 15 cents, and many other things in proportion. The men were compelled to pay for their own hats, so Mark charged them \$2 apiece for cheap "chowder fedoras" that sold on the Bowery for 35 cents. Every time an inspector was caught in the rain he looked as if a bottle of Philip Cowen's ink had hit him in the face. And, of course, the inspector had to go down to Mark and get a new "regulation" fedora. Mark charged a fat price for the uniforms, and it was in these he had the largest "graft." These uni-

forms were inferior to those worn by car conductors, but cost three times as much. They were made of flimsy material and lasted but a short time.

During the last campaign the Cowen brothers were active workers on the East Side for the cause of Reform. When the Reformers came into power they put in a claim that they were entitled to some "recognition." It looks very much as if the brothers got all that they were entitled to.

One of the pledges of the Reformers was that, if elected, they would give us a business administration. The Cowen brothers are proofs of the character of a Reform "business" administration.

DEPARTMENT OF CHARITIES.

Homer Folks, the Fusion Commissioner of Charities, is believed by the administration to be an official particularly well-suited by reason of his studies and his tastes to have the care of this department. He demonstrated this when he went in by continuing and giving credit to former Commissioner Keller for important reforms which he had instituted in the department. One of these was the discontinuance of the employment of workhouse inmates in the charity institutions. Another was the reduction of the death rate of children on Randall's Island. Through Commissioner Keller's efforts the mortality of children was reduced from 96 7-10 to less than 20 per cent.; and for this work he was highly commended by the New York County Visiting Committee in its annual report.

Commissioner Folks found that the heads of institutions and of the bureaus in the department left to him by his predecessor were capable and efficient in their positions.

They remain as they were when he went into office, except in the case of Superintendent George Blair, of the Outdoor Poor Department. He has been succeeded by Edwin F. Merwin, a Republican politician. The retained officials are as follows:

William B. O'Rourke, Superintendent of Metropolitan Hospital; M. C. Dunphy, Superintendent of Randall's Island; Robert Roberts, Superintendent of Almshouse; Edward E. McMahon, Steward of Almshouse; Joseph Schilling, Superintendent of City Hospital; J. McKee Borden, Secretary to Department, Central Office; Cyrus V. Kean, Auditor, Central Office; Frederick Bauer, Superintendent, Bureau of Dependent Children; William C. Yorke, Superintendent of Municipal Lodging House; A. J. Dickerson, General Storekeeper, Blackwell's Island; Miss Mary Gilmour, Superintendent of City Training School for Nurses; Dr. F. M. Bauer, Examining Physician for Admission to Island Institutions.

In the "Fusion" claim of credit for the administration of the department, their share should not be forgotten. They are practical men, and know how to do the work. Mr. Folks, though a theorist, is entitled to some praise for being practical enough to keep these assistants.

Commissioner Folks has shown other evidences of being practical. He has largely increased the pay roll and paid high prices for supplies, the result being a steady increase in appropriations from the figure of \$1,895,491.01 in 1901 to \$2,398,070.93 in 1903.

Of course some humbug "Fusion" claims are made in behalf of Mr. Folks. One was in connection with his appointment of a supervising nurse for the infant hospital. Commissioner Keller's failure to fill this place was due to the fact that the Civil Service Commissioners could not furnish an eligible list from which to make the appointment.

FUSION'S NEW MORGUE GANG.

It is also claimed for Commissioner Folks that he made war upon the undertakers in the neighborhood of East Twenty-sixth street, who are alleged to have carried their business rivalry to such an extreme as to result in abuses, from which the poor suffered. This is not a new subject, and other commissioners achieved as much success in the

direction of repressing this as Mr. Folks has done. They did it in a different way, as they restricted the facilities of the undertakers in the neighborhood as far as possible and opened the grewsome business to general competition. Under Commissioner Folks, assisted by Superintendent of Outdoor Poor Merwin, the war upon the undertakers in the neighborhood has been carried on with the aid of a West Side coffin trust. Mr. Merwin uses the telephone regularly to keep this concern posted as to the possibility of business at Bellevue. The corporation whose interest this official promotes so energetically is in the hands of an officer of the court who was a conspicuous official in the Strong administration, and very near to the Mayor. The matter has been called to the attention of Commissioner Folks; but he does not seem to see any impropriety in it.

The Fusion Charities Commissioner is fond of exploiting the management of Bellevue Hospital, though his connection with that is only as an ex-officio member of the Board of Trustees.

Yet, it is only a few months ago that the newspapers of the city were filled with stories of brutal treatment of inmates by employees of the hospital. The explanation given by this official is that the outrages were the work of some convalescents who were acting as nurses, while the regular nurses were away from their posts. This seems to make the matter worse instead of improving it. It is scarcely less a reflection upon the administration.

A heading in the World of January 30, 1903, indicates the character of these brutalities as follows:

"Eye-witnesses tell horrors of Bellevue—Patrick Moon describes outrages upon old man McGarra—Says nurses uttered threats of death—Held him under water, then made him subject to dreadful orgies—Had box in waiting to carry out his body."

Commissioner Folks has been considerably eulogized in the publications of the Citizens' Union. In them he is given credit for establishing a separate hospital for consumptives. As this hospital was opened in the first month of his administration, it is certainly an evidence of remarkable efficiency. As a matter of fact the tuberculosis infirmary was planned and appropriations for it granted, buildings erected and furnished before Mr. Folks took office. He was, therefore, able to at once transfer the patients to their new quarters, a very easy way to secure credit for establishing the infirmary.

John Doe, John Smith, and Richard Roe,
Are still at large they say.
When will Jerome the public show,
Who gets the dough to-day?

Vote against "Fusion" fraud and false pretense.

Vote against Republicanism masked as non-partisanship.

Vote for Honest Democratic City Government in touch with the wants of the people.

REPUBLICAN CLUB OUTINGS.

A crying shame is revealed in the story of these trips of roystering politicians upon the city's steamboats. It is bad enough to fill these boats with merrymakers, and to thus deepen by contrast the misery of the poor relatives and friends on their sad errand to visit inmates.

A burning outrage is found in the practising of withdrawing regular trips of these boats without notice for excursions of Republican heelers, and leaving in the lurch those who have spent time and money they could ill afford to make one of their all too few visits to some unfortunate.



CITY BOAT USED FOR A POLITICAL OUTING.

The Massasoit Taken from Her Regular Run to Hart's Island and Used for an Excursion Given by Deputy County Clerk Henry Birrell, While Seventy-five Friends of Prisoners and Prison Missionaries Are Driven from the Dock with No Explanation.

The steamer Massasoit, that runs to Hart's Island from the foot of East Twenty-sixth street, is the property of the Department of Correction. One trip a day is made, the boat leaving her Manhattan dock at 11 o'clock.

At that hour on July 18, last, there were over seventy-five persons on the dock waiting to go to the island. Among them were several people from out of town, who were anxious to see relatives. Others were poor people who had taken a day off to see friends. Also there were two or three missionaries and one of them carried some important legal papers that had to be signed that day to be valid.

After waiting some time an announcement was made that the boat would not run again that day, as she had left at 9 a. m. instead of 11. This announcement caused much indignation among those waiting, as the only way that Hart's Island can be reached besides by the city boat is to go to City Island and be rowed across the bay. For these poor people this was out of the question, and they left the pier, denouncing the correction officials.

For upon inquiry it was learned that the Massasoit had been loaned by Commissioner Hynes to Deputy County Clerk Henry Birrell for a political excursion.

The invitation to this excursion, at the expense of the city, read as follows:

"You are cordially invited to attend an outing, which will include an inspection of the city institutions, situated on the East River and on the Sound, on Saturday, July 13. Steamer Massasoit will leave pier foot of East Twenty-sixth street at 9 a. m. sharp. Refreshments will be provided. Hoping to have the pleasure of your company,

"Very truly yours,

"HENRY BIRRELL."

No one offered to explain why the city should lend a boat for a political junket. Commissioner Hynes and other correction officials were guests on the outing. The party was in charge of Secretary John J. McKinney, and a large majority of the excursionists were constituents of Birrell, who is the Republican leader in the Twenty-fifth District and the Deputy County Clerk.

From persons in a position to know in the Department of Correction, it has been learned that trips similar to that of July 18 have been made ever since last fall. Fusion organizations of Brooklyn, as well as Manhattan, have gone on excursions at the expense of the city—and to the great inconvenience of poor people who wished to visit Hart's Island.

If these outings took place under a Democratic administration they would be denounced as an outrage on the public, but Birrell has a political organization to look after. The city operates a convenient

river steamer, and what scheme could be happier and cheaper than to take out the election captains and lieutenants for a pleasant sail up the East River and in the Sound, and enjoy a good dinner and "refreshments" at the expense of the city?

These excursions were painful subjects to the Fusion newspapers, and they said very little about them, and Mayor Low took no action in the matter. Perhaps, after all, as the Evening Post intimates, Birrell may have had no other purpose than "acquainting the ordinary citizens of New York"—in other words, the Birrell Association—"with the manner in which their business is being conducted under a reform administration." And then, again, perhaps Birrell preferred to avoid the expense of paying for a boat for a political picnic and merely appropriated a city steamer, causing a lot of poor people to wait thirty days before they could get another pass to go to Hart's Island. Such is Reform.

SOME "FUSION" SALARY INCREASES.

The Record Shows That Claims of Retrenchment and Economy Are False.

A study of the roster of city employees, published in the City Record, July 29, 1903, exposes many examples of salary increases made by the Fusion officials, who loudly prate of their record of economy in this and other directions.

Mr. Rives, in the Corporation Counsel's office, makes a brave showing in this list, as follows:

J. A. Stoner, Junior Assistant Counsel.....	\$1,500 to \$1,800
F. J. Byrne, Junior Assistant Counsel.....	1,200 to 1,500
J. H. Greaner, Assistant Chief Clerk.....	3,000 to 3,600
J. R. Salmon, Clerk.....	2,700 to 3,000
C. C. Halpine, Clerk.....	1,200 to 1,500
J. H. Johnstone, Clerk.....	900 to 1,050
T. J. Kelly, Clerk.....	600 to 750
F. E. Johnstone, Jr., Clerk.....	600 to 750
H. A. McCrumlisk, Clerk.....	480 to 600
H. J. Shields, Clerk.....	300 to 480
John A. Leddy, Junior Clerk.....	300 to 480
Miss M. D. O'Toole, Stenographer.....	900 to 1,050
Miss A. M. Colleton, Stenographer.....	900 to 1,050
G. W. Welch, Stenographer.....	900 to 1,050
W. H. Lake, Examiner.....	1,500 to 1,800
J. M. Valles, Librarian.....	2,100 to 2,400
S. J. Parmenter, Assistant.....	3,000 to 3,500
H. T. Johnstone, Assistant.....	1,800 to 1,950
Miss M. French, Assistant.....	900 to 1,050
E. H. Wilson, Assistant.....	1,200 to 1,500
C. J. Druhan, Clerk.....	1,050 to 1,200
T. A. Murphy, Process Server.....	900 to 1,200
H. M. Powell, Assistant.....	1,950 to 2,500
H. Steifel, Assistant.....	2,500 to 3,000
F. W. Stelle, Assistant.....	2,500 to 3,500
James McGrath, Assistant.....	1,800 to 2,100
M. F. Murphy, Process Server.....	900 to 1,050
T. C. Blake, Assistant.....	4,000 to 5,000
D. Tomlinson, Assistant.....	1,800 to 2,500

And three other increases amounting to \$900.

OTHER OFFICIALS KEEP STEP WITH RIVES.

In the Civil Service Commission's office Examiner Crandall had his salary of \$1,200 doubled; two \$1,000 stenographers had \$150 each added to their salaries, and another stenographer was jumped from \$1,500 to \$1,800. The Assistant Secretary, J. H. McCooey, was advanced from

\$3,000 to \$4,000, and increases amounting to about \$2,000 more were made in the salaries of five other employees.

In the Board of Elections but \$300 was added to the pay roll, and the Board of Assessors jumped salaries with increases aggregating \$1,350.

In the Tax Department not a single reduction in salary was made, but \$3,250 were given in increases to already well paid clerks.

Outside of the regular promotions, there was in the Street Cleaning Department a number of salary increases. Clerk C. A. Charles had \$200 added to his \$2,500 salary, the \$1,500 salary of J. F. Fitzsimmons was increased to \$1,950, Miss C. H. Jeffrey, stenographer, was raised from \$1,200 to \$1,500 and over \$4,000 was added to the salaries of nine other office employees.

In the Department of Correction the Secretary had \$1,000 added to his \$1,500 income and a general raise of salaries in all branches of that department increased the cost of administration about \$5,000 per annum.

In Robert W. De Forest's Tenement House Commission \$6,450 was added in increased salaries to the pay rolls, but they were careful that none of the increase went to those whose stipend was \$800 per annum or less.

In the Department of Education about \$5,000 was added to the pay rolls, nearly all of the additional money being given to those already in receipt of \$1,200 and upward. In the Normal College the salary raised amounted to about \$9,000, and in the City College to about \$5,000.

In the Health Department Dr. Lederle jumped two secretaries from \$3,000 to \$5,000 a year and added about \$4,000 more to the salaries of other employees.

The Armory Board has only six salaried employees, and they are not overworked, nevertheless increases amounting to over \$300 were made to their salaries.

Nearly \$5,000 was added to the salaries of other employees of Bellevue and the allied hospitals, but by some strange oversight in this solitary instance small salaried men were benefited.

"Eye Bar" Lindenthal added \$6,500 to the salaries of his employees, and in the Department of Docks and Ferries increases amounting to over \$2,000 were made.

The salary increases in the Department of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity amounted to \$6,000.

Borough President Cantor's salary increases were only \$300.

Commissioner Livingston in the Public Works Department increased salaries to the same amount in his office, while in his Bureau of Highways, exclusive of two fifty cent per diem increases allowed to three detailed laborers, \$3,450 additional were added to the assistant engineers, an already well paid staff.

In the Bureau of Buildings the increases amounted to \$7,150, while in the Sewer Department \$500 was added to the \$3,500 the principal engineer had been receiving.

Under the Democratic administration of the Bronx Borough by President Haffen the only increased expense is in the cases of several skilled laborers whose wage rate was slightly increased.

If children could but vote to-day,
On "Fusion" in this city,
Why, they would quickly bury it
Without a spark of pity.

For eighty thousands are denied
The teaching that they need,
The free schools cannot shelter all
Because of "Fusion's" deed.

Oh, why in this free land of ours,
Where men are seldom fools,
Should such neglectful men be given
The power to rule the schools?

Vote against Republicanism masked as non-partisanship.

JEROME'S REVELATIONS OF "FUSION."

He Only Confirms the Public Belief in Its Insincerity—The People Are Convinced That There Is No Good Faith in Low & Co.

Mr. Jerome's share in the campaign slanders which put "Fusion" in power made him a good judge of the different varieties of humbug which distinguished the different periods of that administration. He became disgusted with the weakness of the particular brand of humbug which distinguished Mayor Low's course.

The two right bowers of Fusion split on the Sunday liquor question. Mr. Jerome seemed to think that this was one of the questions on which some consistency between campaign promises and official performances could safely be had.

Mayor Low, on the other hand, being tied up with the Republican machine and its up-State constituency on the one hand, and rather committed to personal liberty by his campaign utterances on the other, was in no position to join Mr. Jerome in his liberal ideas.

District Attorney Jerome prepared a bill for Sunday opening between certain hours and went to Albany to see what could be done in the Legislature. Of course, nothing was done toward the passage of any such revolutionary measure; but this effort of Mr. Jerome and this attitude of Mayor Low in connection with it was the parting of the ways for them.

Even when campaign matters began to stir up this fall, Low and Jerome remained apart. Jerome stayed in Lakeville tinkering clocks, while the work of the Republican Citizens' Union politicians, to cinch up the renomination for Low, was at its busiest stage. The clock-maker seems to have kept his eye upon the situation and to have been a recipient of reports from the seat of war with great regularity.

He did not fail to notice that the Republican end of the political part of this Fusion deal, consisting of Roosevelt, Odell, Platt, Dunn, Depew, Bruce and Quigg, rather overbalanced Sheehan and Devery, the only representatives of the Democratic element (so called) in this non-partisan partnership.

His knowledge of the situation, coupled with these rumors and his previous experience with the humbug of reform politics, convinced Mr. Jerome that it was his duty or opportunity to lead a new sensational crusade this fall by attacking the humbug of Fusion. As it subsequently appeared that his information came from the secretary of the Citizens' Union, Mr. Thomas A. Fulton, the public can safely rely upon the accuracy of his conclusions.

Mr. Fulton, it may be said in passing, was the most energetic, systematic and practical man in the whole Citizens' Union outfit. Mr. Jerome has dubbed him Boss Cutting's political valet. He might better have said Boss Cutting's political master mechanic. There is no doubt that Fulton will be very much missed before this campaign is over by those who made such haste to kick him out for allowing the public to go behind the scenes and get a glimpse of the methods of the Fusion forces.

All of this, however, is only useful as an introduction into and an explanation of

The very illuminating description which Mr. Jerome has furnished of his former colleagues and the very clear exhibition that he has made of the situation in the "Fusion" campaign this Fall.

The gems of this public-spirited contribution, the making of which is one of Mr. Jerome's great services to the community, are as follows:

"I have satisfied myself by careful inquiry that the great mass of the people to whom we must look for support in the coming campaign believe that Mr. Low cannot be re-elected, and that while they may give him a half-hearted support for the sake of the cause, they cannot overcome their dislike and distrust of him.

"It is not necessary to trace the commencement of this to the preliminaries in 1897, when lack of frankness, or, as some of us then thought, disingenuous and an entire absence of unselfish courage laid the foundation for a personal dislike among the members of the Citizens' Union, which has steadily increased in extent and intensity to the present moment.

"Inquiry satisfies me that this attitude on the part of the people to whom we must look for support is not due so much to anything which Mr. Low as mayor has done or left undone as to the unlovable personality of the man himself.

"Egotism, self-complacency and constitutional timidity are not the elements to make a leader, nor do they attract the love and support of an American electorate.

"How characteristic his letter of acceptance (?) is—not a scintilla of humor, not a resonant note, not a spark of originality, absolutely destitute of every indication of capacity for leadership, and, God knows, we need leadership badly enough, and it is its lack that has caused us to drift into the present condition, for it is nothing but drifting that we have done.

"The conference, he writes, forsooth, is to take the responsibility. There are to be an abundance of holes into which the 'I' stamped all over the letter can crawl, if the event is untoward.

"See, too, his seemingly disingenuous attitude toward President Roosevelt. A man more appreciative of political conditions would know that the very semblance of Presidential support and advocacy would entirely alienate the independent Democratic vote, without which Mr. Low cannot be elected.

"But, if it has not been deliberately fostered, certainly no effort has been made to check the notion that Mr. Low is approved by the President and that the President's influence is behind him,

and each day this idea is hurting a man loved by many who are opposed to him politically and in a state where in his own time of trial he will desperately need every friendly influence he can have.

"You ought to know better than I the present condition of affairs in the Republican party in this State. Has it occurred to you that a part of the complacency of the leaders of the Republican machine in our city may be due to the 'kill-two-birds-with-one-stone' idea? This notion of Mr. Low's letter about an independent Democrat is all nonsense. We Democrats who have worked so many years in Fusion movements are not considering this. We will heartily support a Republican, even in such a year as this,

If we are satisfied that next year he will not be found presiding at Republican political meetings and is a man who has elements of leadership and a sincere belief in honest and non-partisan municipal government.

"I have no patience with this talk about a 'logical' candidate. What does it mean? I understand 'candidates' and strong 'candidates,' and Republican or Democratic candidates and others of this sort, but the only real meaning in the minds of people who resort to the term 'logical' candidate is a candidate whom they do not want but cannot get rid of. In this sense Mr. Low is surely the 'logical' candidate of the Citizens' Union. You may be able to fool all of the people some of the time, but not when the matter about which you wish to deceive is so open a secret.

"You know or ought to that the Republican district leaders believe with practical unanimity that Mr. Low cannot be elected, and that very much more than a majority have expressed themselves in substantially the language used by one of them to me. 'We cannot help his nomination, put him up and let him get it in the back of the neck.'

"You know or ought to know the financial difficulties, and even a reform movement cannot be run without funds.

"You know in your own organization not only with the leaders, but with the rank and file also, Mr. Low is the most unpopular candidate we can select:

"It seems to me that the Citizens' Union leaders must know all these things, and, what is more, every one else does; and yet they join with the selfish professional and ride deliberately for a fall with brag-gart words on their lips known to be false and shame in their hearts.

"Were all our fond phrases and moral pretension in 1901 but words to us? Does the cause after all mean nothing? Must we again go back to the old shameful method of bargain and dicker and chicanery? Are we forever to have reformers praising the sentiments of the good, but afraid to practice their precepts? Surely, the conventional methods being what they are of professional politicians are the best things for reformers to avoid. Can we not have a little bit of faith?

"To summarize: First, Mr. Low should not be nominated because of his personal unpopularity caused not by adherence to the principles of reform, but springing from personal character of the man. Had the antagonism to him been because of his adherence to and enforcement of reform principles, no decent man could doubt that he should be renominated.

"Second—The sincerity that was in the campaign of 1901 gave him his victory...Should Mr. Low be renominated under the existing conditions, we should commence the campaign patently insincerely."

RANDALL'S ISLAND ABUSES.

This State Institution an Example of the Mismanagement, Parsimony and Inefficiency of the Republican Officials in Partnership with Low.

During the past year the Republicans have made much noise about the alleged "Fusion" reforms introduced in our institutions for criminals and charity patients. But the grocery Governor has been very careful to avoid Randall's Island in the numerous stories sent out by the publicity bureau to the Republican organs.

For years eminent sociologists and criminologists have pointed out the crying necessities of Randall's Island. They have shown that reform of children is impossible where the conditions are even worse than in the slums from which they were snatched. They have shown that the neglect is almost criminal.

Jacob A. Riis and other sociologists who have visited Randall's Island have reported to the Governor conditions that were so startling the papers refused to print the entire reports. But the Evening Sun devoted considerable space to point out to the Governor and the people the horrible conditions existing on this island. That paper, on June 22d, published a two-column article describing the conditions in the House of Refuge, and the heading reads:

"ALWAYS HUNGRY—BOYS IN HOUSE OF REFUGE DO NOT GET ENOUGH TO EAT—NOT A FAIR CHANCE TO WASH.

"The meat supply cut down at Albany more than 1,200 pounds per month, with a largely increased inmate

population—State Board of Charities hears from its Inspector—The State saves several bars of soap at the expense of cleanliness—Danger of verdigris in copper kettles—Good job for the ragman on the island, says the inspector—Only one change of underclothing in two weeks."

Articles similar to this appeared in the Sun and other papers, and the Grocery Governor was compelled to acknowledge that he had received the report of the State Inspector.

DECREASED ALLOWANCE FROM CITY.

The Governor said that this was a "private institution, although it receives substantial aid from the State each year and some aid from the New York City treasury."

He further claimed that the deficiency in the appropriations was due to the decreased allowance from New York City this year of about \$15,600.

The Fusion administration has claimed that they have given increased sums to support institutions like Randall's Island, but this contradicts their claims.

The Governor was finally compelled to make a bluff "investigation." All that resulted from this inquiry was a few new uniforms and some window sash. The meat supply was not increased, no underclothing was supplied, nor was there any changes made in the sanitary arrangements, so badly needed.

The State and City Government stands convicted of neglecting the House of Refuge on the report of a State inspector, and by the Governor's own statement.

The purpose of the House of Refuge is to make the inmates useful members of society. This cannot be done if they are half-starved, dressed in rags and their self-respect ruined. The result of such a brutal policy is to graduate plastic material for the penitentiary.

CONDEMNED BY STATE CHARITY AGENT.

The press of the city has not let up in its exposures of the neglect and crime committed on Randall's Island. The papers made it so interesting for the Grocery Governor that he sent his Fiscal Superintendent down to make a further investigation of the institution. Mr. Bender made a thorough inspection of this blot on humanity and reported his findings to the Governor.

The report began with a statement of the manner in which the child inmates of the reformatory are fed. Mr. Bender said:

"It is true that the inmates of Randall's Island do not receive nutritious food. The dining-rooms are in a wretched condition. There were 340 boys at dinner at the same time. In many instances two boys occupied the same chair, while other boys knelt on the floor while taking their food.

BREAD WASTED, BUT NO SHOES.

In the second division dining-room twenty pounds of bread was gathered from the table after dinner, showing that the boys receive too much bread. (That is the principal article of food, and the boys emphasize their dissatisfaction by throwing it at the attendants.) There are 237 chairs in the dining-room, showing a deficiency of 53 chairs. Many were broken, 77 were without backs. I find the inmates destitute of shoes. Thirty-seven boys wore shoes that were worthless, and many of the boys walked on their uppers. The instructor informed me that he had in stock only 11 pairs—there were 922 boys on the island—and from August 1 to 7 none had been manufactured.

"I find that the institution is short of sheets, pillow cases and night shirts.

"In the girls' department a few months ago there were in the recreation room 65 good chairs. There are now only 25, and 10 of these without backs. (There are more than 100 girls in the institution)."

MEAGRE BILL OF FARE.

Commenting on this part of his report, Mr. Bender remarked that were animals so neglected it would excite pity.

Then he sets forth the meagre and monotonous menu for these children whom the State and City seeks to reform.

For Wednesday they are served with this "grub"—it does not deserve to be called anything else:

Breakfast: Bread, coffee, syrup. Dinner: Bread, stew. Supper: Bread, milk, apricots.

The bill of fare for the other six days of the week reads almost exactly the same. The inmates receive very little meat and no vegetables, but an occasional potato. There is no reason they should not be served with plenty of vegetables and eggs.

ATTENDANTS WELL FED.

How about the attendants, those who dispense the funds? Are they compelled to eat this miserable fare? This is what they get on Wednesday: Breakfast: Coffee, bread, rolls, butter, broiled steak, eggs, potatoes. Dinner: Tea or coffee, bread, butter, roast beef or mutton, stewed potatoes, macaroni, tomatoes, pudding. Tea: Bread and butter, cold meats, canned salmon.

The fare on Monday and Tuesday was about the same, but on other days chicken was included in the bill of fare. Of course, on Friday, fish was added to the menu. But the boys and girls never saw any.

Now Mr. Bender asks why these things are so—why the boys and girls are nearly starved while the attendants are fed "on the fat of the land."

The State Superintendent visits all State institutions, and he compares the conditions at Randall's Island with the conditions at the Rochester Home of Refuge, where exactly the same allowance is made for food. This is a sample of the wholesome diet of the Rochester boys for Wednesday also:

Breakfast: Coffee, oatmeal, cookies, bread, syrup. Dinner: Potatoes, bread, bean soup, beets, beans, boiled beef, lamb stew, dumplings. Supper: Bread, syrup, chocolate, milk, cheese, pea soup. (Who ever heard of chocolate at Randall's Island?)

There is the same remarkable difference as to dress.

The Rochester boys are well and comfortably clad, and at a cost of only \$9.45 per capita. On Randall's Island it costs \$20.50 per capita to keep the boys barefooted and in rags. This is a clear case of graft for some one.

The Governor should have removed these officials and employees long ago. His Newburg grocery house supplies nearly all the State institutions with food and supplies, and it is not quite clear why the inmates of Randall's Island should be starved and barefooted and without soap to wash with.

POLITICS BLOCKS BUSINESS.

Board of Estimate Hampered by Absentee City Officials.

"So busily engaged in politics are most of the city officials that they have not the time to attend to public business, as was plainly shown yesterday when the meeting of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment had to be adjourned without accomplishing anything but the most ordinary routine business. Appropriations that were to have been taken up could not be considered because there were three absent members when a unanimous vote was necessary to approve the measures in question."

The above clipping taken from the New York Times of September 10, 1903, tells a story of official neglect of public business that is far-reaching in its effect both upon the city and upon the owners of property affected by the numerous proceedings now under way and in the hands of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment awaiting final approval.

The charter provides that all public improvements shall be initiated by the approval of one of the several local boards of the district in which the contemplated improvements are to be made, and that thereafter they shall be ratified or rejected by the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, consisting of the Mayor, Comptroller, President of the Board of Aldermen and the Presidents of the Boroughs of Manhattan, Brooklyn, Bronx, Queens and Richmond. The local boards are usually stirred to action by the petitions of the owners of property in the neighborhood of the contemplated improvement. The preparation and the obtaining of the signature to such petitions to these boards consumes much time, and after the local board acts the petition and accompanying papers are transferred to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, who thereupon send them to the Chief Engineer for his report.

Much time is then generally consumed by the engineer in the obtaining of data with reference to the assessed valuation of the property proposed to be taken for the improvement, and also in estimating the assessed valuation of the property which may become liable for assessments, representing part or the whole of the cost of the improvements. The matter is then advertised in the City Record for a period of not less than ten days, after which the Board of Estimate and Apportionment may legally act upon the proposition. These delays, which are harmful not only to all who are interested in the property, but to the public at large, make it the duty of the Board of Estimate to act promptly.

Mayor Low and the Fusion majority in the Board of Estimate and Apportionment are chargeable with wanton procrastination in these matters.

From the moment a piece of property is designated as likely to become the property of the city for any public purpose, its selling and rental value depreciates. So does the condition of the property itself. Tenants will not and do not bestow the same care on property which they expect to occupy for a short period as they do upon property which they intend to occupy for years, nor can property so situated be as easily kept rented to responsible tenants.

When it is remembered that a large proportion of the real estate in New York City is heavily mortgaged and under "Fusion Reform" heavily taxed on the "full assessment" plan, the sorry plight of the owner who finds his property under the cloud of one of these long pending public improvement proceedings either unoccupied because responsible tenants have moved out or occupied by irresponsible tenants is easily appreciated.

In the matter of the Fifty-ninth street widening the minutes of the Board of Public Improvements afford an illustration of Mayor Low's procrastinating and arbitrary methods with respect to public improvements.

Since the advent of the Fusion administration this proposition has been buffeted about by the local board to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment; and the proposition as adopted by the local board has been defeated by the Board of Public Improvements upon the vote of the Mayor himself. In this proceeding it was stated by several owners of property along the line of the proposed improvements that many of their leases expired on the first day of May, 1903, and that the uncertainty of the property remaining in its present condition restrained the lessees from renewing their leases. The loss of the rental value of property at all times affects its market value; and after, as in this instance, the rental values of property are permitted to decrease because of official indifference the small equities which many owners only have in their properties are necessarily almost entirely wiped out.

The City Record of September 9, 1903, contains some startling examples of official ignorance, carelessness and neglect in other public improvement matters. There will be found there a report of the minutes of the meeting of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment held July 28, 1903, in which all the members of the board, with the exception of the President of the Borough of Richmond, appear to have been present. The matter of the extra approach to the Madison avenue bridge came up for consideration. This improvement has been con-

templated for upward of two years. All citizens who have occasion to use the Madison avenue bridge have demanded that some remedy for the congested conditions which confront them in their transit across the bridge be adopted. There was no dissension as to the necessity of enlarging this bridge.

By the meeting previous to the one mentioned the approach was adopted; and for some reason which does not appear in the minutes as published in the City Record of September 9 the Mayor upon his own motion moved that the adoption of the resolution approving them at the previous meeting be reconsidered. There was not a dissenting vote among the officials who compose the board and who were present at that time. They also resolved that the matter be referred back to the Dock Commissioner, and that he take some action upon the alteration of the plan.

And so, in the same issue of the City Record may be found the proposition to acquire land for the approach to the Willis avenue bridge and numerous other contemplated improvements which had been pending before the city authorities at least two years previous to their reaching the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, and in almost every instance the board, upon the Mayor's motion, regardless of public demand for improvements and ignoring the rights of property owners, voted that the matters stand over until the 30th day of September of this year without a dissenting vote.

The charge of procrastination, however, is not the gravest charge to be made against Mayor Low in connection with the subject of public improvements. At his instigation and in violation of public policy he procured at the recent session of the Legislature an amendment to the law, taking out of the hands of the Board of Aldermen the power to ratify all public improvements of the City of New York and investing this power in himself as Mayor.

Acting under the power so conferred the Mayor on several occasions has publicly stated while sitting as a member of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment that his official acts as a member of such board may or may not be ratified by him in the exercise of his new prerogatives which he has caused to be conferred upon himself by the Legislature through his friend, Governor Odell. Thus under the law, as he has caused it to be amended, even though as a member of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment he votes for the passage of a resolution authorizing public improvements, he may upon the adjournment of the board acting in his individual capacity nullify the action of the board of which he is a member and overrule the judgment of his associates.

"HOW ABOUT STREET SIGNS, MR. CANTOR?"

The Small Results of Nearly Two Years' Work Resented by the People.

The fact that the most progressive citizens in the world should have to rely upon dead reckoning to guide themselves about the City of New York is not only too great a test of patience, but an injury to business and a danger. The absence of street signs is the most positive kind of proof to strangers and visitors from all parts that "Fusion" has been a pronounced failure in municipal government.

The people of New York are always willing to give any administration a reasonable time to make a demonstration of their policy. But after twenty-one months one of the most emphatic pledges given by the "Fusion" administration remains unfulfilled, and the condition can only be attributed to willful disregard of the comfort of the citizens. The direct blame rests with the President of the Borough of Manhattan, Mr. Jacob Cantor, who was more vociferous in his promises and more boastful than any of the candidates of "Fusion," two years ago.

CANTOR'S PROMISES.

In a specific positive pledge, Mr. Cantor said before election, that he would see to it that the street corners throughout the city were provided with suitable signs; so that residents and strangers might be able to discover their whereabouts at any hour of the day or night.

Now, over three-quarters of his term of office has lapsed, and but few signs are to be seen. When he entered on his duties, Mr. Cantor at once took up the sign question, and there was a long controversy over the style of signs to be put up. The Art Commission had much to say, as it had ideas of an aesthetic nature which it would not forego. Then came a long delay in discussing the contracts. For months the office of the Borough President in the City Hall was filled with sample signs representing the patents of inventors, and "Fusion" officials from every department held afternoon levees much as artists do when they open an exhibition of their pictures.

COMPLAINTS CONTINUE.

Complaints came in from all quarters, and at Mr. Cantor's request the Police Department made a canvass of the Borough, and reported to him the section in which the lack of signs was most apparent. Then he applied to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment for an appropriation. On May 17, 1902, he received an allowance of \$40,000.

No barrier was placed in his path by any department, but on the contrary every assistance was rendered. The new policemen from up-State who had been appointed by the Low-Odell-Greene-Platt political combine, were especially desirous of having the signs put up, so that they could find the way to the station houses to which they had been assigned. The street railroads were also anxious to see the signs go up; and every citizen and visitor wished to find out whether he was going to Harlem or the Battery.

But delay after delay followed. When some of the signs finally appeared, it was found that only a few of the principal streets had been equipped with them. They looked very nice and were praised by the Republican "Fusionists" in whose districts they had been placed; and it was supposed the work would continue until every street in the Borough had been fitted with them.

FINALLY A SMALL BEGINNING MADE.

But it is found that only a beginning was made, and the work then stopped. The operations came to a sudden halt, and large areas of the city are in the same signless condition as when Mr. Cantor took the ante-election pledge, and later his oath of office.

The entire East and West Side of the town and those portions off the main lines of travel have no signs whatever. In some sections, as on St. Nicholas and Upper Amsterdam avenues, posts for the new signs have been put up, but the glass which bears the name or number of the street has not been inserted in them; and consequently they are useless and only aggravating. Even so crowded and important a traffic thoroughfare as Ninth avenue below Fifty-ninth street has been neglected. During the first week in August, as the time the nominating conventions approached, an advertisement appeared in the City Record inviting bids for signs; and Mr. Cantor said that a contract would be awarded as soon as possible. The type of sign asked for, is similar to the few which have been already erected, in which iron, glass and enamel were used.

Contractors who furnished the latter charged from \$12.50 to \$17.50 each.

All those who secure contracts are obliged to follow the specifications established by the Municipal Art Commission, regarding the color of the glass, the size of the letter and the dimensions of posts.

The anger of citizens is caused by the general opinion that such a simple and utilitarian matter could have been attended to without so much political buncombe and humbug.

Vote for Honest Democratic Administration in touch with the wants of the people.

Vote against "Fusion" fraud and false pretense.

"Fusion" Campaign Material at Public Expense.

William C. Redfield, Commissioner of Public Works in the Borough of Brooklyn, hit upon the novel plan of making the churches of Brooklyn centres for the propaganda of the "Fusion" movement. Accordingly the Commissioner had cards distributed, announcing that he would lecture in a Lewis avenue church on "Our Borough Government; What It Is and How It Works (illustrated with stereopticon views)."

It was supposed that the Commissioner was too good a churchman to introduce politics in a lecture delivered in an edifice dedicated to the worship of God. But his lectures and pictures were intended to glorify the work of the "Fusion" administration. The stereopticon pictures were on the "before and after" order, purporting to illustrate the improvements made by the Reform officials. In his lectures the Commissioner devoted little time to the pictures; in fact, they were not worth much time, although they cost considerable money. Redfield preferred to pose as a public benefactor of the Borough of Brooklyn, and tell the assembled citizens what he had done for them; that their only salvation was to vote the "Fusion" ticket this Fall and keep such good (?) citizens in office.

But this Reformer was not contented with using a church as a political hall. He actually sent the bill for making the pictures to Grout, the Comptroller, and expected the city to pay his campaign expenses.

The city did pay the first bill of \$45, but a few days afterward Redfield was warned that in the future he would have to pay his own campaign bills, as there was no provision in the charter which makes "Fusion" campaign expenditures a charge upon the city. Redfield probably paid nothing for the use of the church, but the cost of printing the cards advertising the "lectures," was charged to the "contingent expense account" of the office of the Commissioner of Public Works.

If the Commissioner is sincere in his motives and desires to be a real public benefactor he should give a course of lectures and exhibit pictures describing the numerous scandalous doings under Mayor Low's administration. For one interesting picture, the Commissioner would not have to go out of his own department.

A picture showing one of his drivers carting stolen paving-stones to a private yard would probably make an interesting subject. The Commissioner could tell the audience how this man carted away over 50,000 paving-stones belonging to the city, and when the driver was arrested he implicated his foreman.

The foreman fled from the city. It is hard to ascertain the value of the stolen paving-blocks. The thieving had been going on for months under the very nose of the Commissioner.

The history of the Fusion administration in "Word and Picture" would be incomplete without a series of slides depicting the twenty-six fire engine houses in the Borough of Brooklyn upon which repairs were made by Fire Commissioner Sturgis in violation of the charter. No doubt Comptroller Grout would be glad to loan Redfield the reports made to him by the experts of the Finance Department with reference to the contracts given out for these repairs by Sturgis, as a basis for a lecture upon the management of the Fire Department under the "Fusion" administration.

It would be very easy to write many more suggestions of pictures and topics for lectures by Mr. Redfield if he really desires to bring the "Fusion" administration before the people in its true light.

Mr. Redfield is not the only Reformer who has tried to use a church

as a political hustings. But he is the first politician who ever asked the city to pay the expenses of political meetings. Redfield is a fair specimen of the men put in office by the alleged Reformers. To use a pulpit for exploiting a political party is an insult to all Christians, and will be resented at the polls in November.

SWANSTROM COPIES REDFIELD.

Brooklyn statisticians have been doing some close figuring on what the city will have to pay for Borough President Swanstrom's edition de luxe bearing the campaign title, "One Year of Non-Partisan Administration, Borough of Brooklyn."

It is estimated that \$4,000 will about cover the bills for the reports comprising the volumes.

When President Swanstrom first planned this text-book of campaign literature at the expense of the city, he asked for the printing of 250 full reports and 5,250 condensed reports.

When the requisition was en route, it was discovered that the charter limited reports to 2,000 copies, and Mayor Low, Comptroller Grout and Corporation Counsel Rives approved of a modified requisition for that number.

"FUSION" GRAFT IN PUBLIC BATHS

Fees Exacted from Frequenters of the "Free" Baths—Unexampled Delay in Opening Baths This Season.

For the first time in municipal history—since "Free" Public Baths were established, they were not "free," and owing to neglect and grafting all the benefits were lost to those for whom they were principally intended—the poor children and the laboring class in the city.

The baths should have been ready for the public in June, but it was not until July 25 that half of them were put in commission.

Soon afterward complaint was made that some of the attendants were grafting—that children were made to pay five cents each to the attendants, and that charges of various kinds were imposed. In consequence hundreds of children, unable to pay the fee, were barred from the baths.

The President of the Borough said he would investigate, and an attendant named John Caddigan was arrested and bailed, but nothing more was heard of the case.

W. H. Blatchford, a citizen, alleged that five cents was extorted for a bathing suit, and that persons were not allowed to use their own.

On days which were reserved for women, according to Mr. Blatchford, they were charged ten cents at the bathing house at the foot of Thirty-fifth street and the North River. The police, it was said, were fully aware of the outrage.

But one-half the bath houses needed were put in commission, as the administration had not applied to the Dock Department early enough to secure proper locations.

Owing to the inadequate arrangements, the free swimming lessons, under the Board of Education, were interfered with.

So that the "Fusion" administration, besides neglecting to provide sufficient school accommodation, also failed to maintain the bath privileges previously enjoyed.

THE RESURRECTIONISTS.

Dead issues, combined with manufactured "facts" and false claims of economy, efficiency and reform are mighty poor ammunition to fight political battles with. In fact they are more dangerous to those who use them than to those attacked.

Two years ago the adversaries of Democracy laid great stress upon the imaginary issue of absentee leadership, with policies "made in England." The intelligent electorate of Greater New York, with its knowledge of what has since been shown of strength and harmony under very present leaderships, is only amused by the efforts of the prowlers in the political graveyard to raise the ghost of that so-called issue.



THE BODY-SNATCHERS

MAYOR LOW'S LITTLE "JIMMY."

A peculiar thing about this administration is that as soon as an official entered upon his duties he would look around the office and see if the previous administration had introduced any reform. If so, the reformer would simply continue the good work and announce in a Fusion newspaper that HE had introduced such and such innovations. If the preceding official had planned any reforms, the Fusionist would announce that he intended to do great things, and then proceed to carry out the ideas of his predecessor. Folks, the Commissioner of Charities has been noted for this habit of "Claiming," and as Jimmy Reynolds wanted to boom himself in the Fusion papers, he tried the game of "Claiming," which seems to be the favorite pastime of the Fusionists.

George W. Brown, the Mayor's Marshal, proposed several innovations in the Bureau of Licenses, and put his ideas in writing, and sent them to the Mayor. Reynolds, as secretary, of course, read the papers, and a brilliant thought occurred to him. "Why not propose these things to his Honor, and tell him that I, the sociologist-secretary, thought out these reforms?" So Jimmy started in to reform the Bureau of Licenses, and the first thing he did was to tell Low to discharge George Brown—the man who proposed all the innovations, and who had held the position for some time and was acquainted with the needs of the Bureau. Previous to Brown's discharge, Reynolds had never visited the Bureau. Reynolds, through Low, tried to have the Legislature pass a bill reorganizing the Bureau and enlarging its scope and making its head a sort of a sub-mayor. The term of office was to be ten years and the salary was to be \$6,000 a year. Of course if this "sneak" bill had become a law Reynolds would have landed the job.

However, Reynolds put all of Brown's ideas into effect, and then Jimmy conceived some quite original ideas of his own. He picked out the second hand dealers for objects of his animosity, and he hit upon a plan of persecution for the poor push-cart peddlers. For one "reform" Reynolds will be remembered long after he goes back to work in the slums. Some one told Jimmy that the police were getting graft from the push-cart peddlers for not enforcing a certain ordinance. So Jimmy conceived the brilliant idea of rescinding the ordinance, and Low, who had implicit faith in Jimmy, promptly ordered the ordinance abolished. The practical way to stop the graft would be to prosecute the police. But this shows the kind of "reforms" Reynolds has instituted in the Bureau of Licenses.

Vote for Honest Democratic Administration in touch with the wants of the people.

Honest Democracy, purged of Deveryism, welcomes the return of her worthy sons.

Democracy is the hope of the people and the only agency of real reform.

Low the Man.....

Low the Candidate



A REFORM EXPERT'S EVIDENCE.



District Attorney William Travers Jerome, a shining light in the circles of "Fusion" and "Reform," wrote, Sept. 15, 1903, as follows:

"I have satisfied myself by careful inquiry that the great mass of the people to whom we must look for support in the coming campaign believe that Mr. Low cannot be re-elected and that, while they may give a half-hearted support to him for the sake of the cause, they cannot overcome their dislike and distrust of him.

"It is not necessary to trace the commencement of this to the preliminaries in 1897, when lack of frankness, or, as some of us then thought, disingenuousness, and an entire absence of unselfish courage laid the foundation for a personal dislike among the members of the Citizens' Union, which has steadily increased in extent and intensity to the present moment.

"Inquiry satisfies me that this attitude on the part of the people to whom we must look for support is not due so much to anything which Mr. Low as Mayor has done or left undone as to the unlovable personality of the man himself. Egotism, self-complacency and constitutional timidity are not the elements to make a leader, nor do they attract the love and support of an American electorate.

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"How can you hope to win in a campaign whose first note and its keynote is insincerity? If you could win, what worth has such a victory?

"I have no patience with this talk about a 'logical candidate.' What does it mean? I understand 'candidates' and 'strong candidates' and Republican and Democratic candidates and others of this sort, but the only real meaning in the minds of people who resort to the term 'logical candidate' is a candidate whom they do not want, but cannot get rid of. In this sense Mr. Low is surely the 'logical candidate' of the Citizens' Union. You may be able to fool all of the people some of the time, but not when the matter about which you wish to deceive is so open a secret."

Father Knickerbocker Fooled

(A Fable.)

Once upon a time Father Knickerbocker was aroused from a comfortable nap in his easy chair by the clacking and chatter of some old women who declared that his house needed a "thorough cleaning." In vain the genial old man protested that it was cozy and just about to his tastes, and in the matter of respectability and cleanliness compared favorably with those of his neighbors. He was confident of his own ability to work out what improvements were needed. The old women insisted and said that he must also discharge all his trusty and faithful servants and have a new lot of help. They undertook to supply him with superior articles, not just the ordinary sort of servants who work for their living, but college graduates and sons of the aristocracy and fad-mongers and freaks of all kinds. Father Knickerbocker, in a weak moment, permitted the array of noisy incompetents to take possession and run his home for him on what they were pleased to call "reform" lines. They started in by stirring up a terrible dust which flew in all directions, then settled down in new places. But the dust and dirt remained in the house, all the same. The only difference was that you could see it now, whereas, before it at least was hidden.

Then the "reformers" started in to tie their master hand and foot with red tape and blue laws, while they pillaged the house and took everything available over to their friends, the farmers. And the home of old Father Knickerbocker became a very unpleasant place to live in. Particularly offensive were the new staff of servants to his guests from abroad, who saw no harm in taking a stein of beer on Sundays and enjoying themselves in a rational way after their habit at home. Then came the time when the period expired for which the "reform" outfit had been hired, and again all the old women raised their voices and begged Father Knickerbocker to give them another chance to muss around. But he saw that his home was full of discomfort. The ropes with which he was bound chafed and hurt him, and with a mighty voice he bade the "reformers" and the old women be gone.

Moral.—New brooms raise a terrible dust.